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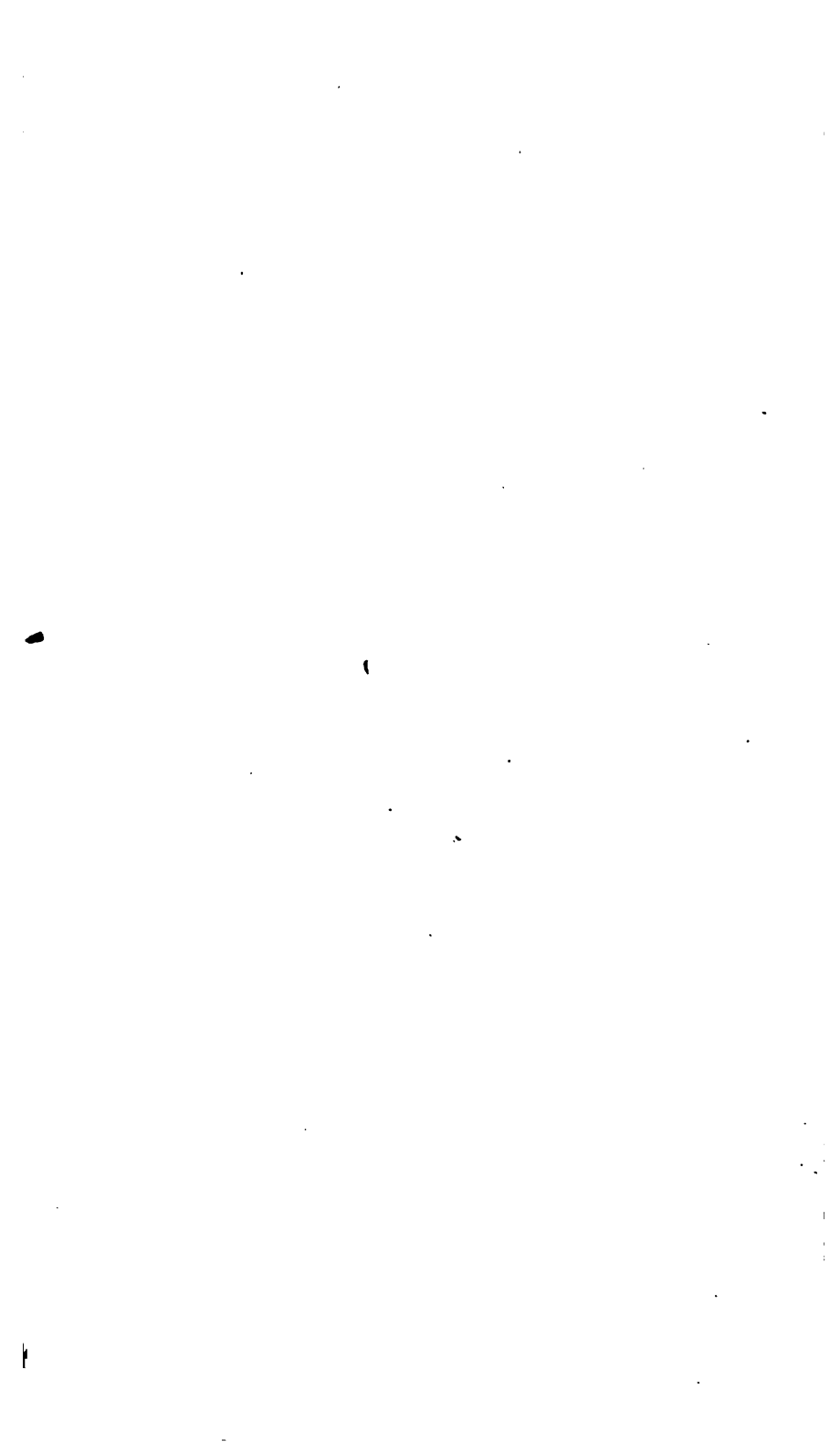


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A SKETCH
OF THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,
FROM
THE SUSPENSION OF THE MONARCHY IN 1792, TO ITS
RE-ESTABLISHMENT IN 1815.
WITH ILLUSTRATIVE OFFICIAL PAPERS.

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1817.



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PREFACE

'MAN,' says an elegant French writer, whose pen has adorned fiction and enriched history, and who was *himself* the traveller he describes, 'after having wandered over the globe, by an affecting species of instinct likes to return and die in the land which gave him birth, and to sit for a moment on the borders of his grave, under the same trees which overshadowed his cradle. The sight of these objects, though undoubtedly changed, recalls to his mind at intervals the happy days of his innocence, the misfortunes with which they were followed, the vicissitudes and the rapidity of life awaking in his heart that mingled sensation of tenderness and melancholy which is called the love of country. How profound must be his grief, if he left his native land in flourishing prosperity, and finds it on his return deserted or torn by political convulsions. Those who live in the midst of

factions, growing old with them as it were hardly perceive the difference between the past and the present; but the traveller who returns to his paternal plains, and finds every thing ruined during his absence, is at once struck with the changes which surround him. His eyes mournfully range through the desolate inclosure, as we look at an unfortunate friend after a long separation, and observe with regret the ravages which time and care have made upon his countenance.' And have not such been the feelings of many a long-exiled native of that land, doomed by a false philosophy to misery; 'when, after the first delights of his return, he has cast an eye upon his country?'

'He has seen nothing around him but a chaos of anarchy—nothing but division of opinion and consequent disturbances. The citizens transformed into conspirators. Scarcely two heads to be found thinking alike, and scarcely two arms acting in concert. Each person a faction in himself, and though all agreeing in hating the last constitution, all differing as to the mode of régime to be substituted for it*.'

* Chateaubriand.

If these have been the results of that wild effort of agitated minds, The Revolution in its native plains, it might then be asked, what has it accomplished by its doctrines and example in the world at large—in other lands?—Has it, indeed, done honour to the cause of liberty, which it professed to espouse?—Has it shewn that freedom is incapable of excess?—Has it proved, that mankind are most happy and at ease when least controlled, and that the gradations of social life are in themselves evil?—And has it established these positions by the moderation and decorum of its supporters? or has it not rather rendered almost the sublime name of Liberty itself a dread, demonstrated by an unprecedented destruction, that the restraints of laws which support the cherished aims of excellence are the only solid bulwarks of internal peace, as well as the springs of external honour; and that inequality of station, so far from being unnatural or prejudicial, originates in tendencies which are inherent in the human constitution, from whence flow the mutual dependencies which unite mankind in social relations? If so, it may remain a beacon,

but it can never become a proper object for imitation, as long as the connexion shall subsist between virtue and happiness, and vice and misery.

That the period of history occupied by the Revolution is filled with events of the most important character is obvious; for how can the formidable attempt to establish the dominion of passion on the ruins of the moral feelings be witnessed with indifference? or how can the consequences of a system, founded on the denial of the Author of all good, be regarded as a light result, beneath the attention of the human intellect?—On the contrary, it may be safely anticipated that its data will afford matter of reference to all succeeding times; and that whilst the overthrows which it exhibits will afford to rulers a tremendous example of the dangerous tendency of depraved manners in the superior ranks, it will, at the same time, display *to all* the miseries which may attend the disturbance of national institutions from the ill-taught and arrogant domination of persons possessing talent, yet abandoning the moral duties.

The succeeding pages are compiled in fur-

therance of a preceding and somewhat similar work*, referring chiefly to what may be called the domestic history of the sufferings of the outraged government; the present volume being almost exclusively political. The circumstance of there being no separate publication which embraced this portion of French history, marked by such important events, as a distinct epoch of the most extraordinary kind, was that which induced the Editor of the former volume to attempt the present summary, from which it has been a particular aim to exclude injurious sentiments.

The design in both these volumes has principally been to depict, within a moderate compass—The Revolution—which will account for the subordinate attention paid to

* The work alluded to, though connected with the present, is yet, like the present, independent and complete in itself; so that either volume may be possessed separately. It is entitled, "Authentic Memoirs of the Revolution in France, and of the Sufferings of the Royal Family:" containing M. Hue's "Last Years of the Life and Reign of Louis XVI." M. Clery's "Journal of Occurrences at the Temple." The Abbé Edgworth's "Account of the King's Death," and the Duchess D'Angoulême's "Private Memoirs," digested into one Narrative, printed uniformly with the present volume, and to be had of the Publishers, price 10s. 6d.

some collateral subjects. To persons who are even versed in modern history, it is hoped the perusal of these volumes may not prove unacceptable as an assistance to the memory ; but to those who have grown into life during a few past years, they are most especially addressed, with a view of conveying that sort of information which, in the present age at least, cannot well be dispensed with. The narrative has occasionally been compressed or adopted from the more minute history by Mr. Adolphus, some particulars being derived from works of more general reference, as well as from those which treat of separate events and periods ; the notices of individuals are in many instances from a publication of considerable accuracy issued at Paris in 1809, entitled, " Biographie Moderne," which will not be suspected of having given the most unfavourable representations.

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SKETCH

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THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Manifesto.—Review of the Character and Events of the Revolution.—Reasons for its being opposed by the Powers of Europe.—Reception of these Statements at Paris.—Suspension of the Monarchy.—Advance of the allied Army.—Proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief the Duke of Brunswick.—Success of the Allies.—French Army deserted by La Fayette.—Dumourier appointed to the Command, by whom the Allies are checked at the Forest of Argonne.—Arrival of Reinforcements.—Allies compelled to retreat.—State of Parties in Paris.—Guillotine, its origin.—British Embassy withdrawn.—Assembling of the National Convention.—Abolition of Royalty.

THE disorders which prevailed in France from the year 1789, when the first attempts were made to produce effervescence, by the infringement of personal rights, had gradually assumed an aspect

of increased alarm until the 10th of August, 1792; when, by a plan, concerted among the more furious partisans of the doctrines then rapidly gaining ascendancy, Paris was convulsed by the dreadful outrages committed at the Thuilleries, when the royal attendants were involved in an undistinguishing massacre, and the king and royal family were compelled to seek safety in the hall of their assembly*.

The surrounding nations felt at this important period all the solicitude which it was natural they should feel in the progress of measures so deeply affecting the vital interests of society; and convinced of the tendency of those proceedings which were every day acquiring a character more decidedly sanguinary, the principal continental powers had been for some time preparing to oppose the torrent which had so destructively commenced its ravages, and which threatened to sap, or overthrow, in every country, all the great bases on which order and government are to be maintained.

They very properly considered, that in the turbulent contest which prevailed, it was not merely the question whether this or that form of government should for the future prevail in France, that was at issue; but, whether a few wicked and daring individuals should be allowed to involve twenty-five millions of human beings in the con-

* *Vide Authentic Memoirs of the Revolution, &c. p. 92.*

sequences of their adventurous madness—whether the resources and the lives of such an immense population, hitherto regulated by known laws, were now to be suspended on the changing caprices of persons, who for the most part rejoiced in mere hardihood, and in having abandoned the moral feelings*; and, that if such were to be the case, whether it did not then become the duty of all to assist the well-intended efforts of those who, shuddering at the impending horror, stood forward with a noble devotedness, and were ready, at any hazard, to defend the sacred rights of humanity.

It is a well-known fact, that the conduct of the European powers, on this memorable occasion, has been placed in very different, and even opposite points of light; but as no reasonings can elucidate this subject so well as those of the day, and as the weight of that moment and its feelings have now passed never to be recalled, a peculiar value is attached to the following paper, the joint production of associated talent, and which presents besides, a comprehensive view of the Revolution up to the period of its

* “If it be asked,” said one of them, “what makes a Revolution, I answer, in the first place—Boldness; in the second—Boldness; in the third—Boldness.”

This man’s career, like that of many of his associates, was to be traced in blood; his head at length fell on the scaffold, but not until his deeds had given ample reason for the execration of his name.

appearance. In an explicatory view, it may be considered as forming a most important introduction to a connected view of that contest which has since so deeply interested the majority of mankind.

Manifesto issued by their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia, against the French Revolution, August 4th, 1792.

Their majesties the emperor and king of Prussia, in commencing a war occasioned by the most unjust and most imperious circumstances, have successively and separately published the particular motives of their conduct. Animated, however, by a regard for the sacred interests of humanity, their imperial and royal majesties, thinking it not sufficient to have communicated to the different courts of Europe the circumstances which oblige them to have recourse to arms, consider it as of importance to their glory and the happiness of their faithful subjects, to enlighten all nations respecting the causes and effects of the late deplorable revolution in France; and, in a manifesto, to lay open to the present generation, as well as to posterity, their motives, their intentions, and the disinterestedness of their personal views.

Taking up arms for the purpose of preserving social and political order among all polished nations, and to secure to each state its religion, happiness, independence, territories, and real

constitution, it is to be presumed the use which their imperial and royal majesties are about to make for the general safety of the forces committed by Providence to their disposal, will console mankind, if possible, for the evils to which war has already exposed them, and for that blood which the disturbers of public tranquillity may yet cause to be shed. In this hope their majesties have not hesitated to give to all nations, and to all individuals, the great example of forgetting, on the appearance of common danger, their ancient divisions and their private concerns, that they may attend only to the public good, in a crisis so important, of which no instance is to be found in history. They think, and with justice, that on this occasion, all empires and all states ought to be unanimous, and that all sovereigns, becoming the firm guardians of the happiness of mankind, cannot fail to unite their efforts, in order to rescue a numerous nation from its own fury; to preserve Europe from the return of barbarism, and the universe from that subversion and anarchy with which it is threatened.

However celebrated the French revolution may unhappily have been, a manifesto against it ought to exhibit a true picture of it; and it is by facts alone that the public can be enabled to judge of this grand cause of all nations against faction and rebellion.

For four years past, Europe has viewed with

attention, and beheld with increasing indignation, the revolution which has oppressed France, and which detains in captivity an august monarch, worthy of the love of his subjects, and entitled to the esteem, friendship, and support of all sovereigns.

Since his accession to the throne, it is well known that his most Christian majesty has testified, in every possible manner, his affection for his subjects, his love of justice, his constant and sincere desire to establish order and œconomy in the administration of his finances, and his honesty towards the creditors of the nation. To make personal sacrifices was his highest enjoyment, and a desire of complying with public opinion has always determined him in the choice of his measures. Continually employed in devising means for relieving his people, and for knowing and gratifying the public wishes, he has erred with them and for them; obeyed the dictates of humanity rather than those of justice; and overlooked their faults, in hope that they would repair them without rendering it necessary for him to have recourse to punishment. Calumny itself has, however, always respected his intentions; and the most criminal and audacious factions, while attacking his sovereign authority and insulting his sacred person, struck by his private virtues, have neither been able, nor dared to deny them.

After trying in vain every method that occurred to him of promoting the welfare of his subjects, of discharging the public debt of the nation—unfortunate in the choice of his measures, deceived in his hopes, and disappointed by various events—yet, still firm in his benevolent intentions, and encouraged, though there was no occasion for his being so, by the queen and all the royal family, to incessantly pursue the object of his wishes, the darling passion of his heart, the happiness of his people, Louis XVI., not finding the succour which he sought in the assembly of the notables, convoked the states-general of the kingdom. He was desirous of collecting around him, in the three orders of the monarchy, all his subjects, and to ask themselves by what means he could at length render them happy. Scrupulous even in the form, and fearing to take any thing upon himself, he endeavoured to learn, in every manner possible, the public opinion respecting the calling together of the states-general; he found himself compelled, by circumstances which his goodness and magnanimous loyalty could not avoid, to change, in this convocation, the ancient form followed by his predecessors*; he signed, without distrust, orders, insidiously and artfully drawn up, which endangered his sovereign authority, tended to

* Results of the council of December 27, 1788. Letters of Convocation addressed to the grand bailiffs.

excite discord, and insinuated disobedience to his commands. Under these fatal auspices, the states-general met; and one of the best kings that France can boast of, addressed to this august, but soon after criminal assembly, these valuable words, which sovereigns, who might have found them in their own sentiments, still take a pleasure in repeating:

“ Every thing that can be expected from the tenderest interest in the happiness of the public, every thing that can be required of a sovereign, the best friend of his people, you may and ought to hope for from my sentiments *.”

These memorable expressions, which might have recovered the most estranged hearts and the most alienated minds, and which ought, in a peculiar manner, to have inspired with the most lively gratitude a people loaded with kindness by their king, were scarcely pronounced, when the signal of revolt was given on all sides. One of the three orders, converting a momentary concession into right, and abusing a double representation, the object of which, on the part of the monarch, was to increase his information without increasing his preponderance, wished, by taking the lead, to swallow up the other two, and to bear them down by its weight. In vain did the laws

* Speech of the king on opening the states-general, 5th of May, 1789.

of the monarchy, the authority of precedent, the nature of things, and the sacred and imprescriptible rights of each order oppose this ambitious, unjust, and illegal confusion. The resistance of the two first orders was soon overcome, by turning against them their love for the king; opposing the danger of the monarch to that of the monarchy, and exciting a revolt, which threatened in an imminent degree the life of his most Christian majesty. On the report of a danger, which the resistance of the two first orders might doubtless have despised, had it threatened only them, consternation put an end to reasoning—there was no longer room for deliberation—it was necessary to act. The nobility and clergy rushed into the assembly, with the third estate, to save France from the most horrid of crimes; and from that moment the states-general, in ceasing to be free, ceased to exist.

The monarchy was overturned by a mad and tumultuous assembly; rebellious subjects, deputed towards the sovereign to learn his decisions, and to receive his laws, dared to dictate to him others, which in every respect were intolerable, and violently pulled down that throne which they were called to support. They commenced their sacrilegious usurpation by violating the oath they took when they received their powers. They had the audacity to style themselves the national constituent assembly, as if they had possessed a

right to constitute themselves what they were not established, and when they were only the deputies of the assemblies of the bailiwicks, the real representatives of the nation. Perjured in respect to the oath of fidelity which they swore to the king, as well as in respect to that which they swore to their constituents; and substituting the individual will of their criminal majority to the imperative letter of their instructions, the national will, expressed in all the bailiwicks, they rendered all their subsequent operations absolutely null, by making themselves superior to their powers, by rendering themselves independent of them, and by assuming authorities to which they had no title; they treated France as a country not subject to a monarchical form of government, without monarch, without laws, and leagued together to plunge it into all the errors of nations almost yet savage, and to form a government after the rude sketches of infant states making their first advances towards civilization, and which at present would mark the last stage of their decline. Like all usurpers, they flattered the people, in order that they might subject them to obedience; assigned to them a sovereignty, with a view of converting it to their own purposes; spoke to them of the rights of man, while they were silent respecting their duty, and employing, according to the dictates of their turbulent and destructive ambition, the poignards of assassins, and the

flames of revolt; and taking advantage of the prejudices and passions of the multitude, they successively called to their assistance famine and abundance to incense the populace, that they might afterwards seduce and govern them; and, to add to the horror of their proceedings, they caused the virtuous monarch, who had convoked them, to be accused of those very crimes which they themselves had committed.

Alarmed at the dangers which surrounded him, and foreseeing the afflicting evils which were preparing for his people, his most Christian majesty in vain endeavoured to avert them.—Concessions, rendered prudent by necessity*, and the urgency of circumstances, which were fully approved by the instructions of all the bailiwicks, and consequently by all Frenchmen, increased that thirst for reigning with which the usurping assembly was inflamed.

All France, deceived and misled by the most infamous impostures, was the same day instantly in arms†. The people imagined that they were taking them up to oppose robbers; and those robbers turned them against the king. From that moment the sovereign authority was annihilated; and the incontestable rights of the two

* Declaration of the king, June 23, 1789.

† Declaration of the king, July 26, 1789.

first orders* were sacrificed to nourish the destructive ardour of the conspirators.

The orders were proscribed†, the king himself, and his brothers, deprived of that private patrimony which their ancestors had brought to the crown on their accession to the throne. The parliaments, the sovereign courts, the states of the provinces, and all the political bodies, almost as ancient as the monarchy, which in turns supported and moderated its power, which were securities to the people for the justice of the monarch, and securities to the monarch for the fidelity of his subjects, were buried under the ruins of the throne. Religion also was involved in the same general wreck. Its property was seized; its altars were overturned; its temples profaned, sold, or demolished; and its ministers persecuted, and continually placed in such a situation, that they must either violate the dictates of their consciences, or submit to death, commit perjury, or suffer punishment; often resigned themselves as victims, in order that they might avoid the commission of a crime.

Thus attacking heaven itself, an impious sect vilified all religions, under a pretence of toleration, and permitted all modes of worship in suf-

* Of the 4th of August and 22d of November, 1789.

† Declaration of the king, November 5, 1789.

fering them all to be oppressed, and offering equal violations to them all. In their room, they substituted political irreligion, without comfort for the unfortunate, without morality for the vicious, and without any check for crimes. Nay, crimes themselves were every where tolerated, encouraged, rewarded. Insurrection was consecrated * as the most sacred of duties. Solemn and public festivals were decreed in honour of the basest and greatest criminals†. Every species of villany was permitted, under the name of patriotism. France was inundated with blood—flames covered it with ruins—and strangers beheld with horror and consternation that country, whose laws, manners, politeness, prosperity, and above all, its fidelity to its kings, were so much boasted of; and which, by a frightful revolution, was suddenly converted into a land of discord, proscription, exile, conflagration, and carnage, and where every violence was permitted with impunity. Inflamed with an insatiable ardour of exercising this pretended sovereignty of the people, each wished to govern, and to divide the bloody remnants of the supreme authority. Hence arose innumerable assemblies of electors, muni-

* The principle proposed by M. la Fayette, and adopted by the National Assembly.

† To the soldiers set at liberty from the galleys, and the assassins of Avignon, Nismes, Arles, &c.

cialities, cantons, districts, and departments. Hence those fatal turns from which intrigue scandalously procured the most shameful elections; that general lottery of all places, all public functions of the episcopacy itself, and other church-dignities, in which violence, deception, and deism, obtained almost the whole prizes. Hence societies of conspirators and enthusiasts, stifling and suppressing, by persecution and popular punishment, the voice and opinion of honest men. Hence the galleries domineering over the usurping assembly; and the delirium of the assembly itself, which thought it enjoyed authority, when it only servilely obeyed the impulse of fanatics and mad men without doors, and was subjected to the fickle passions of the people.

In this general and systematic anarchy, created by the most execrable and profound art, thousands of victims were sacrificed in all quarters, and provinces and whole towns were given up without mercy to the most shocking barbarities. Every one who was suspected was consigned to destruction:—every one who was moderate, was considered as criminal:—all those who had property to make them objects of plunder, were denounced as enemies of the public good; and, in a word, amidst accusations commanded, solicited, and paid for; in the midst of committees of research, clubs, assemblies of all kinds, and national prisons, into which tyranny

arbitrarily crowded faithful subjects, whom judges, even chosen by the factious, could not condemn, and dared not acquit; amidst the agitation of all passions excited at the same time, virtue alone was a crime, established right was usurpation, and every one was a sovereign, except the sovereign himself.

The organ of the factious, the mayor of Paris, had the impudence insolently to tell his king and master, that the people had conquered him. The people, indeed, detained their monarch a captive in their kingdom; and his days, perhaps, would not have been prolonged, but by the forced and salutary escape of one of his brothers, and princes of the blood.

The monarch and monarchy, however, still, in appearance, subsisted; odious and intolerable decrees having taken place of the simple observations of his most Christian Majesty. The revolvers were irritated at this resource of justice and reason. The most criminal attempts were projected. A number of seditious persons hurried to Versailles; the castle was forced. The king, exposed, as well as the queen and royal family, to every outrage, every crime, and unheard-of attacks, thought only of sparing the blood of his people; and the tears which he would not have shed for himself, moistened the bodies of the generous and faithful guards who had been inhumanly butchered on the steps of the throne. Pro-

vidence, which watches over the destiny of kings and nations, saved at length his majesty, with the queen and august family, from this horrible conspiracy; and if the criminals who were the authors of the execrable atrocities committed on the night between the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, have hitherto enjoyed an odious impunity, the Divine Justice has doubtless deferred their punishment, in order to reserve to all sovereigns, offended against in the persons of their most Christian majesties, the inflicting of the most striking and exemplary vengeance on the guilty.

Escaped from the most imminent dangers, his most Christian majesty at length thought of freeing himself from that captivity in which he was detained, and of placing his sacred person in a place of safety, by retiring to the frontiers of France. He hoped that he should then be able to exert himself with more effect in bringing back his subjects to a sense of duty, and in saving the monarchy; and by yielding to the most imperious of all laws, self-preservation, his most Christian majesty meant solemnly to have protested against all those acts to which he had consented during his captivity.—But Providence, which in its wisdom often deranges, for the instruction of mankind, the best concerted plans, did not permit a resolution so just, so lawful, and so necessary to the happiness of France, to be successfully executed. An infamous town, the name of which posterity will

never pronounce but with horror, the just and terrible punishment of which will serve as an example to all rebellious and sacrilegious towns that may ever have the criminal madness to wish to imitate it, and to attempt the liberty of their sovereign—this town had the audacity to arrest their king. By a signal he might have overcome this obstacle ; but in that case it would have been necessary to shed blood ; and his most Christian majesty has proved, upon all occasions, that he would rather suffer death himself than expose the lives of *his subjects*. The return made to this generosity, goodness, and signal magnanimity, was, that he was conducted, amidst a thousand dangers and a thousand outrages continually renewed, back to his capital, to be there imprisoned in his palace, in virtue of a decree passed by the usurping assembly ; to be there suspended from his authority, as if any power upon earth had a right of passing so infamous and odious a sentence, and at length to be reduced to the alternative of forfeiting the throne, or submitting to the most pitiable concessions, that is to say, the alternative of a civil war, which would have converted France into an immense grave, or the acceptance of a constitution, dictated by the mean populace to perjured wretches without legal power, and deprived themselves of their liberty, when surrounded by poignards, conflagration, and all those

convulsions which are the natural consequences of anarchy and revolt.

The king of France, had he enjoyed perfect freedom, would doubtless have consulted only the honour of his crown, the interest of his people, his protestation of the 20th of June, 1791, and his religion, which they endeavoured to make him renounce. Had he enjoyed freedom, by making a generous sacrifice, he would certainly have resigned life, had it been necessary, to rescue his people from that pretended constitution with which they were loaded ; but all Europe knows that his refusing to accept it would have caused the three faithful guards, who were arrested with him at Varennes to be massacred before his eyes ; that a famine, created on purpose, already presaged the most horrid attempts ; that the murder of all the royal family was resolved on by the conspirators ; that such of the nobility and clergy as in France remained faithful to their God and to their king, would have been instantly butchered, and that foreign powers would have had to punish thousands of criminals and regicide monsters.

A ray of hope, which still seemed to beam forth in the heart of his most Christian majesty, made him doubtless entertain an idea that the factious would soon repent ; and he probably flattered himself, that by this last act of condescension he should be able to disarm their fury, and dissipate

that fatal cloud of error by which they were blinded. The nullity of his acceptance, fully demonstrated by those rigorous circumstances which imperiously commanded it, sufficiently destroyed the inconveniencies of it. He wished, as he himself declared*, that the constitution might be judged by experience. In a word, he was obliged either to accept it, or condemn France to commit execrable crimes, to abandon it to all the horrors of civil war, and to bury it entirely under its own ruins.

The king signed it, but his hand was at that time in chains. The act which he performed was invalid. The protestation of the 20th of June had previously annulled it. A prisoner can enter into no engagement, can sanction nothing, nor accept of any thing ; and a monarch, who is reduced to the necessity of writing that he is free, is not so in reality. All powers, filled with indignation at this horrid spectacle, had already concerted measures for avenging the honour of the diadem.—His late imperial majesty, by his circular letter, written from Padua †, invited all the powers of Europe to form a confederation for this purpose. The convention of Pilnitz determined those circumstances which made their Imperial and Prussian majesties to have recourse to arms ; but the acceptance of

* Letter of the king to the assembly, September 18, 1791.

† Month of July, 1791.

his most Christian majesty, though forced, and consequently null, seemed to promise a new order of things: it rendered the danger less threatening *, and the latter events seemed to afford hopes respecting the future. It appeared that the greater part of the French nation, struck with the evils which they had prepared for themselves, were returning to more moderate principles, began to acknowledge the necessity of maintaining that form of government which was alone proper for a great state, and to testify a desire of restoring to the throne that dignity and influence which belong to monarchical governments. His imperial majesty was not completely satisfied with these appearances; but still he wished, as well as the other powers united with him, to try the effects of a little longer delay, to avoid, if possible, that disagreeable extremity to which all powers feel themselves now obliged to have recourse. A prodigious number, however, of faithful Frenchmen, banished from their country by crimes which they had seen, and of which they were the objects, imploring in vain at home timid or corrupt judges, and laws which, in order to oppress them, were made to speak or be silent, as might be most favourable to the revolution, ranged themselves under the banner of honour, duty, and fidelity,

* Dispatch of Prince de Kaunitz to several ministers at foreign courts, November 12, 1791.

with Monsieur the Count d'Artois, and other princes of the blood, who, like them, had been forced to exile themselves from their country.

A new usurping assembly, which seemed to pride itself in surpassing the excesses of the preceding, dared to treat the royal majesty with still greater insults *, added weight to his chains, encouraged more than ever the effervescence of those popular societies which domineered over him, multiplied the dangers around his throne, were incensed at the hospitable reception granted by foreign princes to the French emigrants †, and insulted, with intolerable licentiousness, all the sovereigns of Europe. In violation of their own laws, and contrary to their pretended renunciation of making conquests, they invaded the Comté of Avignon, the Bishopric of Bâle, pretended to set an arbitrary pecuniary valuation on the sacred property which they had in Lorraine and Alsace, forcibly taken from several princes and states of the empire, and were offended because the police in all the neighbouring countries suppressed those inflammatory writings which they industriously circulated, and punished those missionaries of

* Decree of Monday, February 6, 1792, which determines that, in writing to the king, the president shall follow the formula adopted by the king in writing to the assembly.

† Dispatches of Prince de Kaunitz to M. de Flumendorff, February 17, 1792.

revolt whom they everywhere dispersed to corrupt the people, and to incite them to attack private property, to dethrone kings, and abolish all religions. Their audacity increasing, by remaining hitherto unpunished, and rendered more violent by the moderation of neighbouring princes, this assembly, in their delirium, conceived the project of extending their usurpation, and the licentious principles of the French to the Germanic empire, and, without doubt, to the whole world. A ministry, whom they obliged his most Christian majesty to accept, became the organ of their secret views, and of views well known to all popular societies.

Explanations were required from the court of Vienna, and given with that clearness, precision, and minuteness, which became the candour and dignity of his apostolic majesty the king of Bohemia and Hungary. Being in every respect satisfactory, they could displease only an assembly and societies who wished to disturb the public peace, and who, by intrigues and criminal manœuvres, obliged the king to yield to the violent impulse of his ministry and the assembly, and, contrary to all justice, contrary to all reason, and contrary to the evident interest of France, to declare war against his neighbour, his relation, and his good and faithful ally the king of Hungary and Bohemia. The usurping assembly flattered themselves that they could subdue Europe,

as they had subdued France, by corrupting their troops, seducing their subjects, and rendering odious the paternal authority of sovereigns; by commanding crimes; by giving rewards to those who committed them; by irritating and flattering the passions of the people; and, in a word, by dissolving all the bonds of moral and political society. They flattered themselves, above all, that they should revive and propagate that error which had misled the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; they trusted they should carry thither the *flames of insurrection*; find there a number of partisans; devour the rich patrimony of the churches; seize on the property of the nobility; abolish the lawful authorities of the states; and, as they caused to be repeated with complaisance by the ministry of their will*, they wished to carry away the specie of the Low Countries, and to replace it with that paper money which circulates on the credit of violence; which is secured only by usurped property; and which, by its discredit at home, is sufficiently proved to be illegal. They thus trusted that they should be able to reward the crimes of their satellites, and the activity of their patriotic agents, with the spoils of their neighbours, and the riches of a peaceful and industrious people. On this criminal basis, detestable in the eyes of all na-

* Report by M. Dumourier, on the affair of Mons.

tions, they founded their wish for war, as well as their plan for executing it; and they congratulated themselves for having extorted this proposal from a just monarch, whose whole life has attested his love for justice, his fidelity towards his allies, and his ardent desire for preserving the tranquillity of Europe.

The triumph of the assembly, however, was not of long duration. Providence, in blessing the arms of a sovereign unjustly attacked, deservedly punished those rebellious troops to their king, who, detaining him prisoner in Paris, came in his name to make war on his allies.

The army of the French revolvers, beat at Tournay and Mons, and defeated at Florenne and Grisenille, attempted an invasion of Flanders, an open and defenceless country; but being soon after obliged to retire, the usurping assembly* were taught that his apostolic majesty had none but courageous soldiers, as well as faithful subjects, and that nothing of their projects remained to that rebellious army but the shame of having conceived them; the ignominy of having massacred, with a civic joy, unfortunate prisoners who had done their duty; and the opprobrium of having burnt at Courtray, without advantage, without object, and even without military pretence, the habitations and property of three hundred fami-

* Letters of M. Luckner, June 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1792.

lies, against whom they had no cause of complaint. But other enjoyments recompensed the usurping assembly for these checks. Contrary to the express letter of their own laws, without process, and without previous accusation; without hearing him, or any person for him, the assembly had unjustly dismissed, and removed from the king's person, an irreproachable guard, and invited banditti from all the provinces to their assistance. These famous banditti, whose names must be handed down with infamy to the remotest ages, as if they wished to try the strength and energy of the villany of their agents, caused the asylum of the king to be violated on the 20th of June, 1792; and the most atrocious crimes would have been then committed, had not the majesty of the monarch, his virtues and his firmness, overawed a band of regicides, whose arms were evidently paid and directed. All France, who in justice ought to be separated from the factious, turned aside with horror from that execrable day, and demanded that punishment might be inflicted on the guilty. But he who refuses to punish crimes is alone criminal; and Europe cannot be mistaken respecting the authors of these outrages.

Such then is the French revolution, unjust and illegal in its principle, horrid in the means by which it was effected, and disastrous in its consequences.

“ Their imperial and royal majesties, who can no longer delay to fulfil their mutual engagements

to deliver mankind from so many excesses, have considered this revolution under the following points of view :

1. As it personally regards his most Christian majesty.
2. As it respects the French nation.
3. As it respects the princes of Germany who have possessions in France.
4. As it respects the tranquillity of Europe, and the happiness of all nations.

I. ON THE REVOLUTION, AS IT PERSONALLY REGARDS
HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY.

The whole world knows that it was essential to the French monarchy, and the unanimous wish expressed in the instructions of the bailiwicks, that the king of France should be legislator ; that he should have the full and entire disposal of the army ; that he should cause justice to be administered to his subjects ; that he should have the right of making peace and war ; and, in a word, that plenitude of power which belongs to sovereignty. But it is also known, that an usurping assembly, leaving him the title of king, which they considered as a gratification, deprived him absolutely of royal authority ; that, reduced to be the executor of their will *, their servile and passive organ, he had not even the right of proposing

* VIIIth article of the Constitution, section *Internal Administration*.

the most necessary laws*; that he had no longer any authority over the sea and land forces†; that the right of making peace and war was taken from him‡; that he was deprived of the power of electing magistrates§; and that, not enjoying even the power of going wherever he pleased, which the constitution secures to all citizens, his most Christian majesty was forced to reside near the pretended legislative body||, and that the chain which detained him could not be extended farther than the distance of twenty miles.

The supreme authority in France being never-ceasing and indivisible, the king could neither be deprived, nor voluntarily divest himself of, any of the prerogatives of royalty, because he is obliged to transmit them entire with his own crown to his successors.

He could be dethroned only by an abdication; but the acts which he committed cannot even be considered as a partial abdication, because he could not divest himself of the crown but to invest the presumptive heir, and because the essential condition of the validity of such an act would be a full and entire liberty which did not exist; and this it is perfectly notorious that his most Chris-

* Decree of September 24, 1789.

† Decree, February 28, 1792, and April 28, 1791.

‡ Decree, March 22, 1790.

§ Decree, August 16, 1790.

|| Decree, March 24, 1792, Article III.

tian majesty never enjoyed. It is well known that the violence, outrages, and dangers with which his people were threatened, and on account of which he was continually harassed, never suffered him to be in freedom a moment. How then could the sovereigns of Europe acknowledge a revolution which, to the scandal of the whole world, dethrones a puissant and just monarch, continually destroys his liberty, endangers his life as well as the lives of the queen and royal family; and which, by an universal system of anarchy, would force all sovereigns, though the honour of their diadems did not render it a duty, to consider as personal outrages to each of them individually, all those insults which have been, or may hereafter be, offered to their most Christian majesties? Warned by the examples of the past; by the days, above all, of July 13th, 14th, and 17th; by those of October 5th and 6th, 1789, strangely rewarded by the community of Paris*; by the oath of liberty taken by a captive monarch on the 5th of February, 1790; by the scandalous

* The community of Paris decreed patriotic medallions to five women, who had been at the head of the execrable expedition of Versailles: and the Abbé Malot, a Victorin monk, president of the community, had the audacity to say, "Receive this prize, which your country bestows on your virtues, your wisdom, and your patriotism." The names of these wretches were, Agnes le Fevre, Genevieve Dogan, Denise le Ferre, Petit, and Marie-Louisa Boujon.

atrocities committed even in the apartment of the king, February 28th, 1791, on his most faithful servants ; by the ferocious insults of a hired mob and licentious soldiery, offered for three hours successively on his most Christian majesty and family, in his palace, on the 18th of April, 1791 * ; by the unpardonable detention of Mesdames, the king's aunts, in the town of Arnay-le-Duc, though they had condescended to provide themselves with passports, which the new laws did not even then require from private individuals ; by the disastrous events of the month of June, 1791 ; by the suspension of the royal guard, and the attempts of the 20th of June, 1792 ; by the odious decree of accusation against the king's brothers, the forced sanctioning of which, was an equal outrage to nature, justice, and supreme authority :—warned, in short, by the impunity of so many crimes, their imperial and royal majesties have already protested, and now protest against all acts, declarations, and letters, which his most Christian majesty may suffer to be surprised or extorted from him, until he shall be placed in full liberty with his whole family, under a guard of their imperial and royal majesties' troops, in such a frontier

* The king and queen being desirous of spending the day at St. Cloud, the people and national guard prevented them, and detained them in their carriage for three hours in the court of the Thuilleries, loading them with the most horrid imprecations.

city of his kingdom as he shall think proper to choose, and be enabled in safety to make known his supreme and definitive intentions, and to realize the vows which he has always expressed for their happiness, liberty, and prosperity.

II. OF THE REVOLUTION AS IT RESPECTS THE FRENCH NATION.

The revolution considered as it respects the French nation, instead of being its work, is evidently its scourge, the object of its grief and regret, the source of all its evils, and would be eternally its shame and disgrace, were it not proved, in a thousand different manners, that this illustrious nation itself abhors the factions by which it is torn ; that it loves its king ; that it wishes to preserve its religion by favour and toleration ; that it sighs after the moment when it shall be delivered from the vilifying yoke under which it groans ; and that if foreign powers did not come to its assistance, abandoned to its fatal destiny, its consequence would vanish, its commerce would be annihilated, its arts forgotten, its industry rendered useless, its credit subverted, and that its whole surface would become a prey to more atrocities, more ravages, and more destruction than its superb and unfortunate colonies, than its unfortunate cities of Nismes, Montpellier, Arles, Avignon, and others. It is far then from the thoughts of their imperial and royal majesties to be at war with the French

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nation, and to separate it from its king, which it ought to make only one; the intention of their imperial and royal majesties is evidently, on the contrary, to come to its assistance, and to combat in the middle of those unnatural children who tear its bosom, who outrage its king, and persecute its religion. The positive right of all countries entitles them to disarm all those madmen who attempt to destroy their own lives: the right of nature enjoins all men to give each other mutual assistance. The rights of nations require, in much stronger manner among all civilized people that neighbouring states should unite to rescue a great nation from its own fury, from the fatal and disastrous consequences of that political phrensy which undermines, dissolves, and destroys it.

However little the events and catastrophes which have desolated France may have been observed, however little their causes and effects may have been reflected on or regarded, the emigration of French property, of which no age affords an equal example, followed by the firm and courageous resistance of the faithful and enlightened minority of the states-general, it is necessary to convince all that a small number of villains have excited these troubles, and that by the assistance of obscure individuals, of people banished from all countries, of criminals escaped from prison punishment, and of errors into which weak and enthusiastic minds have been hurried,—they have

brought about that fatal revolution, which is equally an attack upon the nation, as well as his royal majesty.

Has not the rebellious majority of the deputies to the states-general, declared themselves to be superior to its power? Have they not usurped rights, by substituting for the national will their own passions, and for the paternal government of a wise monarch, their own tyranny?

With regard to their instructions, when all the bailiwicks unanimously requested the same thing, had this criminal majority the right to determine another? and once freed by itself from the observance of its oath, who could check the course of its abuses, and moderate the arbitrary despotism of its power?

To mislead the people, and fascinate their eyes by false illusions, this assembly speaks of equality, when they make all France tremble: they speak of justice, and they have not yet punished a single crime, nor a single atrocity: on the contrary, they applauded the most detestable crimes, and admitted into their bosom criminals abhorred by all nations*! They speak of public safety, yet the asylum of the king is daily violated by committees of research, which desolate France; assassinations are everywhere committed, and the magistrates

* Conspirators of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789; murderers of Avignon, Nismes, &c., soldiers of Chateaux-Vieux.

of the people are themselves massacred with impunity*; they speak of toleration, yet all the temples of the established religion are shut; all its ministers, immured in prisons throughout whole provinces†, are condemned by the assembly to be entirely banished from the kingdom; the Roman Catholics cannot profess their religion but at the risque of their lives; and wretches have been excited to persecute and punish their worship, even in nunneries‡, consecrated by religion itself to the use of the poor; they speak of liberty, yet the king is not free; every avenue from the kingdom is shut; more than 50,000 municipalities or administrative bodies have a right to arrest and actually cause to be arrested, in an arbitrary manner, peaceful and innocent citizens. There is not a member of the usurping assembly who cannot by an order from his hand, by a mere word, cause to be put in irons, as was the case at Besor§, and other parts of France, strangers flying from the

* Mayors of Troyes, St. Denis, Estampes.

† Mons, Angers, Dijon, la Bretagne, &c.

‡ The nuns de la Charité des Hospitalières were flogged and beaten by people sent for that purpose, in presence of the national guard, because they desired to hear mass from a nonjurent priest.

§ All Europe must have learned with horror the disgusting and inhuman treatment which Miss Nash, an English lady, experienced at Orchies in Flanders, from the troops of the line, though she had a passport from Marshal Luckner.

melancholy spectacle of a people in a state of anarchy ; and the assembly itself accuser, witness, party, judge, and executioner, crowds daily into prison, as its caprice directs, every person who displeases or opposes it.

No—the French nation is not stained with the crimes of which it is itself the victim. It knows that unbridled liberty is a general evil, and that liberty without happiness is a benefit to no one. It was always free ; it is worthy of being and still will be free ; but it will always be subject to the empire of laws which promoted its happiness and glory for so many ages ; and by restoring its lawful sovereign, a sovereign worthy of its love and confidence, their imperial and royal majesties will do an equal service to the sovereign and to his subjects. As this is the sole object of their wishes, the only motive which has induced them to take up arms, they will cause their armies to protect all the faithful subjects of his most Christian majesty, who shall give an example of obedience ; and all good Frenchmen, who, in the departments, districts, and municipalities, shall concur immediately in re-establishing the authority of the king, as well as public order, shall know no other enemies than the enemies of their king and country, and those factious men who, with arms in their hands, wish still to support the cause of revolt.

God forbid that their imperial and royal majesties should have any intention of employing

their forces to introduce despotism into France, to serve the cause of private hatred or vengeance, which the honour of Frenchmen ought to sacrifice to the public good, or to facilitate an odious bankruptcy to the prejudice of the lawful creditors of the state. There is no reason for apprehending any evils of that nature—the candour and probity of his most Christian majesty will secure his subjects ; but they have not a moment to lose in choosing between popular tyranny, and laws which will gratify the general wishes ; between obedience and revolt ; between the forgetfulness of errors, and the punishment of unpardonable resistance. They have it in their own power to regulate their destiny—the destiny of France is in their hands—they alone can decide whether it shall be still a flourishing monarchy, or an immense desert.

In short, their imperial and royal majesties cannot better recall the French to their duty, to the laws of humanity, and to those of honour, which were formerly so dear to them, and to their ancient love for their king, than by bringing to their remembrance the last words of the protestation of his most Christian majesty, made on the 20th of June, 1791 :—

“ Frenchmen ! and you Parisians, above all, beware of giving credit to the suggestions and calumnies of your false friends ; return to your king ; he will always be your father, your best

friend. What pleasure it will give him to forget all the personal injuries he has suffered, and to see himself in the midst of you—when religion shall be respected, and government established on a stable basis;—when the property and persons of individuals shall no longer be molested;—when the laws shall not be infringed with impunity;—and, in short, when liberty shall be placed on a solid and lasting foundation !”

III. OF THE REVOLUTION AS IT RESPECTS FOREIGN PRINCES WHO HAVE POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE.

Considered under the third point of view, the French revolution, so fatal to France, becomes still more so by the violence and intolerable injustice offered to foreign princes who have possessions within the territories of the kingdom, and by the rigorous means which must necessarily be employed to do them justice.

The Comtat of Avignon belonged to the holy see. The sovereignty of the pope over this domain was founded on an incontrovertible title of acquisition, on possession, which among all nations is equal to a title. The usurping assembly united it to their territories by the sanguinary right of utility and necessity; and compounding afterwards with themselves, and with justice, they offered an indemnity to the holy see. But if the sovereignty of the pope was legal, they had no right to deprive him of it; and if they had a right

to deprive him of it, why did they offer him an indemnification?

The prince bishoprick of Basle, a state of the empire, possesses in its sovereignty defiles which tempted the ambition of the national assembly. It caused them to be forcibly seized, and removed a detachment of troops which the emperor had sent thither, on the requisition of the French bishop, for the safety of the country, agreeably to the Germanic constitution. The treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, Breda, Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, Baden, and Vienna, gave to France the provinces of the three bishoprics, and of Alsace and Franche Comté, by expressly reversing the rights and property of the princes and states of the empire in these provinces, and by stipulating that no innovation could be made in them, either with regard to ecclesiastical or political matters.—It is evident that these treaties cannot be infringed at the will of the usurping assembly; and that by calling for the execution of those clauses which serve their views, they have no right to reject those which displease them. It is perfectly clear that they ought to renounce provinces which have been ceded to the crown of France, or punctually execute the condition of the cessions made to it,

But their decrees respecting the dismemberment of dioceses, and of the right of metropolitans; the abolition of feudality, the suppression of

several privileges, or the annihilation of territorial jurisdiction, without indemnification, and the sale of the possessions of the clergy, are a direct infringement of the treaty of Westphalia, as well as of subsequent treaties. These decrees have violated political and ecclesiastical rights secured in perpetuity by the treaties of cession. These cessions consequently, which are synallagmatic acts, which must be executed in all their parts, or rejected *in toto*, being infringed by the usurping assembly, would be at present annulled, were not the proceedings of the assembly radically null themselves, and if it were not necessary that their decrees should disappear, before the grand interest which France has in being just, in not violating the sacred rights of the empire, and in not wounding the dignity of any of its members.

But their imperial and royal majesties are fully persuaded, that the first use which his most Christian majesty will make of his authority when he has recovered it, will be to restore to the injured princes all their rights and privileges, to indemnify them for what they may have suffered in respect to degradation, or being deprived of their privileges; and to cement more and more by this act of justice, the harmony which has for a long time subsisted between the Germanic body and his most Christian majesty. The injury offered to the German princes who have possessions in France, is not considered as a reason for

making war on his most Christian majesty, but for placing him upon the throne, in order to obtain justice.

IV. ON THE REVOLUTION AS IT CONCERNS ALL NATIONS.

But the most general point of view, under which their imperial and royal majesties ought to consider the French revolution is, as it respects the interest of all nations, and the tranquillity of Europe.

In vain would the assembly, which usurps the name of the French nation, have renounced conquest, if it wished to subject to its pretended liberty the states of their neighbours. Of all the methods of making war on peaceful, virtuous, and fortunate people, the most fatal, doubtless, would be to preach up rebellion, to mislead their minds, to corrupt their morals, to form them to crimes by example and seduction, and to draw down upon them the wrath of Heaven, and punishment from their sovereigns, under the pretence of rendering them happy.

The ambition of a conqueror has its bounds; and his views, when known, cease to be dangerous; but a planned system of anarchy, which tends to dissolve all political society abounds with inexpressible danger; and all sovereigns, for the interest of their subjects, cannot use too much expedition to check its progress, and to stifle the

evil in its birth. People would pay too dearly for the fatal error of believing that their interests can be separated from those of their sovereigns. It is therefore necessary to destroy this error as soon as possible, and to chastise, as soon as they appear, those factious men who conspire against the happiness of all countries. Had any doubts existed in this respect, they would have been already removed by the attack and invasion of the Pays Bas ; by the plan of the usurping assembly, divulged by the popular minister, of spreading every where the flames of revolt ; a barbarous maxim, which attests views of cowardly ambition, and which is an insult to all nations, and a signal of alarm against all kings. Besides, a numerous and powerful nation cannot disappear from the political hemisphere of Europe without the greatest inconvenience. The balance of power among sovereigns, the work of their wisdom, purchased by their treasures, and the blood of their subjects, which regulates the ambition of one by the interest of all ; which maintains harmony amidst contending passions and jarring interests ; and which almost always terminates by well-conducted negotiation, such disputes as may be exacted by bloody wars, requires for the general interest of Europe, that so considerable a state as France should not be dissolved or withdrawn from its political engagements ; and yet this would be the case, should the present revolution be

established. The decrees* which have deprived the king of the right of making peace and war, have at once dissolved all those treaties which connected his most Christian majesty with all the neighbouring princes. The revolution gives to the usurping assembly the right of renouncing such treaties as are contrary to its views, while it takes from his majesty the means of supporting those which might be beneficial to him. According to these principles, it has no more political ties than those which it chooses to approve, and it is consequently not bound to any of its allies, though all are obliged to be faithful to it. Thus the king without power, and the nation without an army, or what amounts to the same thing, having no army properly disciplined and subject to authority, exhibit to their neighbours, and, above all, to their allies, nothing but the shadow of power. The tranquillity of Europe, however, depends absolutely on the execution of the treaties now subsisting between the different sovereigns; and those treaties themselves depend on the stability of the constitution of those states which contracted them. The displacing, and much more the annihilation of the counterpoise of the political balance, would tend then to disturb the peace of Europe, and to revive ancient disputes and pretensions, now settled, the discussion

* Decree of March 22, 1792.

of which, again renewed, would occasion the loss of much blood, and excite the tears and regrets of humanity. It belongs to the wisdom of sovereigns to avert such dreadful misfortunes; and it is with this view that their imperial and royal majesties think themselves obliged, for the general tranquillity and safety, and for the individual happiness of their respective subjects, as much as for the real interest of France itself, to have recourse to arms, in order to prevent the annihilation of the French monarchy, and to destroy there every spark of insurrection, which might continually threaten and endanger the welfare of all sovereigns, and of all nations.

But yielding to what the honour of all crowns and the real interest of all people require, their majesties declare to Europe, that, in the just war which they have undertaken, they entertain no views of personal aggrandizement, which they expressly renounce; and to France, that they mean not to interfere with its internal administration, but that they are firmly and fully resolved,

To re-establish in it order and public security:

To cause the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king, their lawful sovereign, to be protected:

To punish, in a striking manner, all resistance to their arms:

To give up the city of Paris to the most dreadful and terrible justice, from which nothing can

save it, as well as all the other cities which may render themselves its accomplices, if the least insult, or the least outrage is offered to the king, the queen, or the royal family; and if that city does not endeavour to expiate its errors, and to merit the interposition and good offices of their imperial and royal majesties, to obtain pardon, by immediately restoring liberty, and paying every due honour and respect to their most Christian majesties:

In short, to procure to the king perfect security in some frontier town of his kingdom, and the means of collecting there his family, and the princes his brothers, until his most Christian majesty can enter his capital with honour, and enjoy there the satisfaction of seeing his subjects repent; of conferring new favours upon them; of granting them real liberty, and consequently of finding them submissive to his supreme authority*."

* The proclamation also of the government at Brussels, issued shortly after, in answer to a declaration of war on the part of France, may be considered in connexion with the contents of the foregoing paper, as elucidating still further the grounds of that contest which afterwards became so disastrous. It runs thus:—

"A faction, by which the kingdom of France has for four years been torn asunder, has just prevailed on his most Christian majesty to sanction a declaration of war against his apostolic majesty, our most honoured lord and nephew. The

This manifesto was accompanied by another from the French princes, who were at the head of

first acts of hostility seem to be directed against these provinces; and the enemies of all order and power, who are meditating an aggression so unjust, found their hopes of success on the spirit of party which was unfortunately disseminated during the late troubles.—We will carefully attend to the defence of those provinces with the government of which we are intrusted, relying with confidence on the protection of the Lord of Hosts, who is pleased to manifest the effects of his omnipotence in favour of those who are inspired with a sacred respect for the laws, and for all powers by him ordained on the earth for the government of human societies.

“ We flatter ourselves that every class of citizens will be animated with one spirit, and that they will vigilantly attend to the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and the preservation of property, while we order to the frontiers part of his majesty’s troops, full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two last reigns, until the league, formed between several great powers, shall oppose a mound to the torrent of sinister projects which menace the overthrow of Europe.—We owe it to the faithful subjects of his majesty, to inform them of the measures which we have adopted, during a whole year, in hopes of remaining at peace with France; and to warn them of the innumerable calamities which our enemies are eager to spread and perpetuate, under the specious veil of a chimerical liberty, offered to a credulous multitude by an impious sect of innovators, *soi disant* philosophers, as the infallible result of their mad projects. Theirs is not to war with the princes of the earth, but against the religion of our ancestors, against social order, against prosperity, and against all the comforts which naturally flow from it. They have

the emigrants, but they were alike treated by the popular parties with a furious disdain; the rea-

already, by the adoption of their absurd systems, plunged their country into all the horrors of anarchy. Jealous of the prosperity of those nations who still enjoy the fruits of social order, they have formed, for their own protection, the barbarous project of inspiring them with a similar delirium of propagating their errors, and with them all the calamities with which the kingdom of France is at this time afflicted.

“They have been, during a whole year, meditating and inventing pretexts for the aggression on which they had resolved. Having driven away from the bosom of France, by dint of persecutions, all those citizens who were attached to the established religion, and to the prerogative, hitherto held sacred by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, they have attempted to prevent them from enjoying, in any part of the world, the sweets of hospitality which men reciprocally owe to each other. We have been extremely careful not to afford the slightest grounds of complaint, resolved not to meddle, in the least degree, with the political government of any neighbouring states. We have taken care to prevent that any thing should be attempted, or even written, in those provinces against the constitution just established in France; and, as a reward for our strict attention to the laws of good neighbourhood, a horde of factious vagabonds has been assembled on our frontiers, resolved on the execution of the most infernal plots. The most infamous writings against religion, and against the constitutional authority of the sovereign, have been dispersed in these provinces. These writings were substantially the same as the speeches delivered in the midst of authorized societies, in which the most atrocious crimes have been recommended as virtues, with a

sonings they contained were met by a series of passionate sophisms and novel aphorisms, which,

view to flatter the criminal propensities of a set of men, in hopes of reconciling them to a system which in history will be the disgrace of the present generation.

“ All our remonstrances on this subject have been made in vain; and, whilst we paid the greatest attention to complaints relative to armaments which had no existence, and to pretended insults offered to Frenchmen, all kinds of excesses have been multiplied against the subjects of his majesty, and committed on his territories, and we have never obtained, on so many objects of complaint, any thing more than promises of satisfaction, which have in no instance been performed; and when we have, on our part, exercised that vigilance which was become necessary on the conduct of emissaries, who it was boasted openly were sent into these provinces on purpose to excite insurrections and to create anarchy, we have been insulted for having taken those precautions which were construed into attempts against the safety and the liberty of the French travellers. On the other hand, we were applauded for having given orders to prevent the assembling of the unfortunate French gentlemen who had emigrated from the kingdom, and to oblige them to conform most strictly to the laws of simple hospitality, in order to preclude the possibility of their arming and forming themselves into a military corps.—These measures, which France seems now to have forgotten, were quoted to the princes of the empire as an example proper for them to imitate in their respective states, and with which the despotic agents of the French government would be satisfied.

“ We shall avoid taking notice of all the calamities with which France is afflicted—we should leave to time the dis-

from artfully blending truth and falsehood, and violence and justice, were well calculated to instigate even to madness the unreflecting.

closure of the machinations perpetually recommended by a set of insidious writers in their dangerous publications, were it not evident that, at the moment of the intended aggression against these provinces, a resolution is taken to spread the poison of a seductive illusion on the pretended advantages of the French constitution, with a view to make those partakers of it who may be deluded by this means ; but it is necessary that the people who are confided to our government be reminded and informed that the kingdom of France groans at this time, in the name of liberty, under the most hateful slavery, every species of vice, of the most unbridled passions, and of a species of anarchy which is without example ; that rights and property are abolished ; that the holy religion which we profess is there trodden under foot ; that altars are profaned and polluted ; that their true ministers are deprived of their just rights, ill-treated, persecuted even in their retreats among foreign nations, and replaced by intruders who have no mission from the hierarchy of the church ; that the pastors of the people have been deprived of their distinctive vestments by which they were known to their flocks ; that in a monstrous code, rights have been extolled which man cannot enjoy in society, and which he tacitly renounces, by living in civilized associations ; that, pursuant to those chimerical rights, attempts have been made to abolish, overturn, and confound those real rights which have been transmitted under the protection of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, from generation to generation, to those venerable classes to which the French

The command of the allied army was intrusted to the duke of Brunswick, who, advancing towards the frontiers, circulated on his approach

nation had, in every respect, the highest obligations; that real property has given way to the name, by seizing the estates of those who had been solemnly invested with them by time, by the laws, and by an uninterrupted possession, a hundred times renewed and confirmed by the true representatives of the nation; and all this under the deceitful colour of an equality of chimerical rights, not existing in fact, and annihilated if it could for a moment exist, by that variety of character, impressed on all mankind at their birth, by which they share, in very unequal proportions, moral faculties, the very disproportion of which has always determined, and will ever determine, the ascendancy of genius, strength, patience, industry, and economy, over the opposite qualities; together with all the advantages which may lawfully arise from them, and which may be transferred like every other species of property.

“ Finally, it is necessary that the faithful subjects of his majesty be informed that, whilst pains are taken to extol the pretended glory and prosperity of the kingdom of France, lately the most flourishing in Europe, there is now no commerce, no circulation of specie or goods, no public force, no justice, no police; and that the philosophical persecutors of all those who are not of their sect, know no bounds to the excesses which they excite their people to commit, except a satiety of crimes.

“ Who, after this, could be so blind or ignorant as to place the least confidence in the promises, and in the insidious assurances made by these tyrants to those nations whom

an address to the people of France, couched in warm terms of indignation against the factious,

they wish to subdue, that they will respect their property, their religion, their rights, their privileges, and their constitution; tyrants who, since they have usurped the public power and force in France, have trodden under foot, with an effrontery and audacity hitherto unheard of, the most solemn public treaties, all rights, human and divine, and every thing which is held most sacred over all the world; who, the moment they should become masters of one province, would seize, as they have in their own country, the estates of the clergy and the nobility, and the property of the citizens.

“ Once more, having never had any inclination to meddle with the internal government of any neighbouring state, we should not have entered on these afflicting details, relative to objects which are foreign to the government with which we are intrusted, were it not that French writings and French emissaries, and even the recent acts of the new legislature of France, have a tendency to render universal a system of innovation, whether good or bad for the French nation, certainly and decidedly ruinous to the people under our government; because it is subversive of all that political organization delineated by a constitution which they love, which the sovereign has engaged to maintain, and on which the happiness of Belgium has for ages been founded.

“ It was our duty to warn the people of the imminent dangers with which they are threatened. We have laid before them truths which all well-meaning persons will acknowledge to be striking; and they will, of course, use their utmost endeavours to maintain peace and public tranquillity within these provinces; and we shall consider those

stating that the object the allies had in view was not that of conquest, but the restoration of order and of freedom to the king and royal family, that it was by no means intended to interfere in the internal arrangements of the government, but to ensure the full personal liberty of the sovereign; and that, if on the contrary, "the palace of the Thuilleries should be insulted, or the least violence offered, the least outrage done to their majesties the king, the queen, and the royal family; if they were not immediately set at liberty, and placed in safety, the most exemplary and ever-memorable punishment should be inflicted on the guilty, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction.

Those who meditated the destruction of the king were, by this intemperate paper, furnished with all they could have wished as the ground of their arguments, and therefore studiously concealing the mild, and enforcing the tendency of the stronger parts of it, they succeeded in effecting the union of all parties for the purpose of defending France against an invasion, which was to bring on it undistinguishing ruin; whilst they held up the

as enemies to the state, and treat them as such, who shall attempt to disturb them.

(Signed) MARIE ALBERT.

(Countersigned) BARON DE FELIZ.

Done at Brussels, April 29, 1792.

government to severe contempt as the cause of the approaching war, and prepared to receive, with a vigorous arm, the attacks which were directed against them.

* The first attack made by the Prussians at Longwy, was opposed by generals Luckner and La Fayette; but, divisions arising, the latter, on hearing that the king's authority was suspended, made a last effort to attach the army under his command to the constitution, on the failure of which, he fled in the night, accompanied by a few friends. After passing safely the woods of Bouillon, he was taken prisoner by a picquet guard, and conveyed to Wesel, from whence he was afterwards removed to some Austrian and Prussian fortresses, where he remained several years a prisoner.

On the news reaching Paris of La Fayette's departure, Dumourier was appointed to the command. His whole force amounted to but about seventeen thousand men, and these discouraged by accounts of the allies being on the advance with ninety thousand. Longwy and Verdun being speedily resigned to the invaders, the combined army penetrated into Champagne with the design

* The forces of the allies amounted in the whole to near ninety thousand; of which fifty thousand were Prussians, under the duke of Brunswick; fifteen thousand Austrians, commanded by Clairfait, and the remainder Hessians and French emigrants.

of passing at once towards Paris. Dumourier, summoning all his means, succeeded in gaining the passes of the forest of Argonne, from whence he addressed the assembly for reinforcements.

The allies continuing their progress, and regarding that part of France over which they had passed as subdued, probably quite as much by the justice of their cause, as by the force of their arms, neglected to take the usual precautions for their security, and when the influence of a contrary spirit prevailed, excited by messengers from the assembly, they were exposed to serious evils—besides, having confidently expected that the people would join them on their advance, they had neglected to supply the army with provisions, and therefore when those unexpected obstacles arose, they were reduced to the combined inconveniencies of want and disease, resulting from an excessive use of fruit, which their scarcity of provisions rendered necessary.

In the mean time the force under Dumourier had been so greatly augmented, as to amount to upwards of sixty thousand men, who were employed in constantly harassing the allies, a mode of warfare which, aided by their peculiar situation, did more than could have been looked for from direct engagement. Notwithstanding, however, these measures, it is highly probable that the energies of the army would have still proved successful, if it had remained united; but some divi-

sions in council seem at this early period to have taken place, for although much mystery prevailed on the subject, it was confidently believed that a secret negotiation had been entered into between the king of Prussia and Dumourier, through whose art and arguments, aided by the wetness of the season and the want and disease which prevailed among the troops, he appeared to have been convinced of the propriety of retiring—for, after a truce of eight days, the allied army retreated, and the places captured being rapidly retaken, thus terminated a campaign which had accomplished nothing but the advancement of those feelings which it had intended to subdue.

Whilst these events were engaging the main army, general Biron had gained some advantages in attempting to effect a diversion; with a detachment of twenty-two thousand men he rapidly took possession of Spire, Worms, and Mentz; and, crossing the Rhine, seized Frankfort, levying every where enormous contributions. His progress was, however, speedily interrupted by the arrival of the Prussians, who re-captured Frankfort, and, after a long and obstinate engagement, drove him into the woods.

During this interval, the progress of the popular parties in Paris had been of the most tremendous kind*, and it is scarcely possible to conceive

* During the reign of the legislative assembly, the mode of executing persons sentenced to death was changed by the in-

of a situation more perilous than that of the capital.

The insurrection and massacre which followed the king's departure from the Thuilleries inured the monsters there employed to the commission of the most brutal horrors, and the fatal month which followed might well cast the chill of horror over a

troduction of the guillotine, an instrument composed of an upright and a horizontal frame; the upright contained at the bottom a solid block, in which a space was made for the neck; the frame above received in a groove a sharp, slanting blade, which being drawn to the top by a pulley, and the body laid on the flat frame, the axe was loosened, which running down violently, severed the head in an instant.—“ M. Guillotin, by whom this instrument was introduced, and whose name it bore, a physician at Paris, was born at Saintes on the 29th of March, 1738, he was chosen deputy from the tiers-état of Paris to the states-general, but lived almost unknown before the revolution; his election was owing to his having been fixed on to prepare a writing called the Petition of the Six Corporations, which became interesting on account of the effect it produced on the public mind, and the suit commenced by the court of law at Paris against the author, who, after having been summoned to the bar, was carried back in triumph by the people. When appointed a member of the national assembly, Guillotin attracted attention chiefly by a great gentleness of disposition. On the first of December, 1789, he made a speech on the penal code, in which a tone of the greatest humanity obtained, and which terminated by a proposal for substituting, as less cruel than the cord, that fatal machine which received his name, and which in the end sacrificed so many victims. In 1790, he again took a part in the discussions on the penal code.

people resigned to the most inexpressible and varied misery*.

Having secured the persons of the king and royal family, the assembly also voted a decree for suspending the royal functions, and calling a national convention; they also resolved that a camp should be formed under the walls of Paris of all those who chose to enlist, and announced their sittings permanent, until the meeting of a national convention. The gates of Paris were closed, in order to prevent persons from quitting it, and a search was ordered through the houses of the inhabitants for the ostensible purpose of obtaining arms, by which measure many who had fled to obscure situations were discovered, and transferred to the prisons, where they were afterwards destroyed; indeed, such was the universal panic

Some persons, carried away by the horror this machine has since excited, have considered as a monster one of the gentlest, and, at the same time, most obscure men of the revolution. No one has deplored more bitterly than he the fatal use that has been made of his invention. Those who are acquainted with Guillotin describe him as a clever, cool, reserved man, of unblemished integrity, who in some sort retired from the revolution when he perceived the course to which it was directed. He has the character of being one of the best physicians in Paris, and was latterly commissioned to direct the discovery of the cow-pox."

* For the events of this period, see *Authentic Memoirs of the Revolution*, p. 137.

which prevailed, that many who abhorred their excesses were compelled to join the cries of murderers as the only means of avoiding death. Politics had at this period become the business of all; speeches were continually making in the streets against tyrants; editors of journals who favoured the king were arrested, and their property destroyed; and so eager were the triumphant teachers to overthrow even the very remembrance of the monarchy, that orders were issued for obliterating all names of streets, squares, bridges, public buildings, and dwelling-houses, called after, or which bore any resemblance to the name of royalty. All hope of the re-establishment of order having thus completely disappeared, it became necessary for those powers which had not hitherto acted conspicuously, to take the measures dictated by feeling and propriety. The English ambassador (Earl Gower) was recalled; he was, however, instructed to state that, though that power considered its minister's credentials as no longer valid, she intended to maintain neutrality, hoping that no violence would be offered to the persons of their most Christian majesties, as such an act would not fail to excite universal indignation.

Le Brun, the new minister for foreign affairs, replied to this note, politely regretting the departure of the ambassador, and, referring to the efforts of the English in the cause of liberty, expressed confidence in the justice, moderation, and

impartiality of the British cabinet. The Russian minister also was recalled on the 23rd of August.

The destruction of royalty throughout the world was at this furious period announced as a duty clearly resulting from the first feelings of nature and the rights of man, while such was the ridiculous extent to which this idea was carried, that a proposal was actually made in the assembly for associating twelve hundred men in order to assassinate all kings and their generals.

The national convention assembled on the 21st of September; it consisted of seven hundred and forty-five members, most of whom were persons distinguished by their zeal for the prevailing doctrines, the establishment of which they were determined to accomplish at any risk. They ranged, however, under different leaders, and the private interests of opinion or advantage produced among them continued animosities. They were, in their elective capacity, unreservedly intrusted with the government; their decisions formed the law against which there could be no appeal; and the power which they possessed over the rights, the property, and even the lives of the people, was consequently unbounded.

The heads of parties in the convention were Robespierre and Roland; towards Petion, who was elected president, it was proposed some superior respect should be shewn, by investing him with the insignia of law and power, fixing his re-

sidence at the Thuilleries, &c.; but these proposals were rejected as inimical to liberty and equality. It was then proposed that *royalty should be for ever abolished in France*. This motion, although unattended by any preparatory notice, or even patient discussion, was immediately decreed, although in itself premature, and introduced when little more than one half the members had taken their seats; a circumstance afterwards alluded to by Robespierre, who said that the establishment of the republic was a measure which had slipped in by stealth.

The passing of this decree was diligently announced in every part of France by the jacobin party, which had now advanced rapidly in power and popularity. The manner in which it had been carried ought, indeed, to have been considered by the people as a serious indication of temper from their new legislature; but the charms of a system which was to bring down the high and exalt the low, or rather to degrade all, found too many supporters in human passions, the natural enemies of restraint, to allow even of the suspicion of evil; and therefore this important change produced more impulsive satisfaction than prospective fear, whilst by it the more furious reformists obtained that superiority which speedily enabled them to erect a tribunal, the annals of which are deeply tinged with horror.

CHAPTER II.

Dumourier's successful Campaign in Flanders.—Republican Plunders.—Extended Expectations of the National Convention.—Institutes Correspondence with and offers Aid to the Disaffected of all Countries.—Disturbances in the Convention.—The King sacrificed.—Proceedings consequent on that Event.—War with England and Holland.—Successes of Dumourier interrupted.—He is suspected of Treachery, and quits the Army.—Consequences of his Flight.—Gloomy State of Affairs in France.—War of Parties in the Capital.—Revolutionary Tribunal established.—Advance of the Allies.—Siege of Valenciennes.

THE invading armies having been compelled to retire, a new impetus was given to the measures of the popular party, who soon began to lose the little restraint which their approach had imposed. In addition to this, the soldiery and recruits feeling their enthusiasm augmented as their opponents retreated, became eager to go forth for the rescue of mankind from the bondage of government, and that they might plant their tree of liberty every where. Dumourier accordingly hastened to Paris with plans of conquest, and, soon returning to

the army, commenced a successful campaign in Flanders. He addressed the people under the name of Belgians, to whom he promised every thing. After some slight skirmishes, Dumourier, on the 6th of November, led his army to the attack of Jemappe, where proper measures had been taken to oppose him. The Austrians were defended by three rows of fortification, surmounted by a hundred pieces of cannon; their whole force did not exceed twenty thousand, Dumourier headed thirty thousand well supplied with artillery, and inspired by an ardour approaching to madness. At seven in the morning, a heavy cannonade commenced on both sides, and at noon a close attack. The music played the popular march of the Marseillois, and the soldiers rushed forward with overwhelming impetuosity, shouting "Vive la nation." The struggle was long and bloody—victory was, however, still doubtful, when the French, profiting by an ill-judged measure in the Austrian centre, turned the tide in favour of the republicans, which numbers soon rendered irresistible. This arduous battle, which brought the combatants hand to hand with the sword or bayonet, decided the fate of Flanders, and Dumourier therefore found little difficulty in taking possession of Mons, Tournay, Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges. Entering Brussels on the 14th, he issued orders for besieging Antwerp. He encountered again the Austrians on the heights of Cumpick, and possessed himself of

their head-quarters at Tirlemont. Antwerp and Valence surrendered; and Dumourier, having highly advanced the fame of his skill, finished the campaign by the capture of Aix-la-Chapelle, fixing there his winter-quarters.

These first conquests of the republic were characterized by measures of the most unprecedented kind, for the army plundered every where with the most unsparing rapacity; the promises they had made before-hand, in order to induce the people of the country to afford them assistance, were but little thought of in the moment of victory; and the clergy and laity, the churches, banks, private dwellings, and warehouses, were alike made to yield enormous contributions for the support or enrichment of the conquerors.

The national convention, elated beyond measure at these unlooked-for advantages (for none could have supposed that in a single month almost the whole of the low countries would have fallen into their hands) began to disclose the most monstrous views. At the commencement of hostilities, France, it was proclaimed, renounced every idea of conquest, and was to be solicitous only of maintaining her own integrity. The force, however, of the new philanthropy had now become such as to induce its professors to enlarge their views. They accordingly adopted covert means for rendering Flanders a part of France, to be governed by the

same enlightened code ; they seized on the navigation of the Scheldt, which repeated treaties had exclusively appropriated to the Dutch, and because they would affect to consider every nation in a state of intestine hostility, of which its government and people were the contending parties, they passed a decree, to be translated into all languages, declaring that *the French nation would grant fraternity and aid to every people willing to recover their liberty*, ordering the French generals to assist and defend all such as might suffer in such attempts.

This singular measure, which was carried still further by many of the popular party entering into correspondence with the discontented of other countries, gave a general and just alarm ; for in several countries, particularly England, its destructive consequences were severely felt. Here clubs and associations were formed on the jacobin plan, which corresponded with others in Paris, among whom plots were actually laid for overthrowing the British Government, and uniting both countries in one murderous policy ; a steady firmness, however, the result of an uncommon assemblage of strength and talent, brought England safely through the gulph which thus threatened her destruction. In Paris, the clashings of party were perpetual ; furious speeches and mutual recriminations resounded constantly in the conventional hall, the final advantage of which

rested evidently with the party denominated the mountain.

Three months had elapsed since the king and royal family had been committed to the tower of the temple, and although few doubted the intentions of some, it was but little expected that the minds of a sufficient majority could have been brought to contemplate the dark deed of their destruction. The mountain were, however, now industriously occupied in bringing about such a conclusion, and in preparatory arrangements for the trial. Petitions were in consequence procured from various quarters, demanding that the king should immediately be brought to trial, and answer for his crimes with his blood. The justice of this design was argued in a multitude of pamphlets as well as in the journals, many of which were filled with the most preposterous absurdities. In the convention, Merlin said, that having decreed the abolition of royalty, it was now time to shew that a dethroned king is not even a citizen, but should fall beneath the vengeance of the nation, and that the convention ought to act both as judges and accusers. Robespierre was for death without trial, and his sentiments were seconded by the mountain in general. The trial was, however, finally resorted to as a matter of form, although the judges had already pronounced sentence on the much-injured monarch.

The king was brought before the national con-

vention on the 11th December, when his accusation was read; on the 26th he was finally arraigned; on the 17th January sentenced, by a majority of eleven, and an appeal to the people having been denied, he suffered death* on the 21st January, 1793.

The accomplishment of this affecting event produced an unexampled feeling of gloom and consternation throughout the whole civilized world as well as in the capital, which was succeeded by measures of the most rigorous nature; domiciliary visits under the pretence of seeking arms being continued with unsparing rigour, by which a great number of those who were suspected of favouring the royal cause were apprehended. Without, war was eagerly sought for, and in the departments rebellion and anarchy prevailed, whilst within the convention, the only acknowledged centre of government, a spectacle was exhibited of the most alarming kind; for there, instead of cool deliberation and patient inquiry, a band of arrogant and unprincipled declaimers carried contention to the very utmost, with the sanguinary design of bringing to destruction the vanquished.

The army under Dumourier having completed the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, was next directed against that part of Flanders which

* For a full account of this affecting occurrence, see *Authentic Memoirs of the Revolution*, p. 272.

belonged to the neutral states of Holland. Insolent remarks were at the same time made respecting the measures of Great Britain, where the circulation of French assignats and the admission of foreigners and of French principles had been opposed. From the tone of the persons then in power, it became obvious that a rupture with England was the object intended, and accordingly on the 10th January, 1793, M. Chauvelin, who had for some time resided in London as ambassador, received orders to quit the kingdom: on the 1st of February, a decree was carried declaring that the French republic was at war with the *King of England* as well as with the *Stadtholder* of the United Provinces.

Dumourier immediately commenced operations with his main army, consisting of sixty thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, capturing Breda and Klundert. Miranda, with fifteen thousand men, also besieged Maestricht, which he hoped to obtain, but was overturned by Clairfait, who crossed the Roer above Aix-la-Chapelle, and routed the French with great slaughter. Dumourier, alarmed by these movements, was compelled to put himself in a defensive posture, notwithstanding his ridiculous boast that he would speedily conquer Holland, and dictate peace to England from the Tower of London; nor could all his efforts prevent the

allies from regaining Tongres, Liege, Ruremonde, and Fort St. Michael.

Roused from their dreams of security, the convention were alarmed by this intelligence; and they now found that, besides the continuance of their financial difficulties, although they had acquired large sums by the plunder of the churches in Flanders, the levying of contributions, and the *enforced* circulation of assignats, it became needful to adopt measures for the security of the French army itself; for, from the addresses of Dumourier, it was evident that he wished to secure its attachment to his own person.

The allies, prosecuting their successes, attacked him on the 16th March at his general rendezvous near Tirlemont, and after an engagement of three days, gained such decided advantages as compelled him to retreat within the frontiers. Another spirited engagement again took place on the 22nd with like success, and the allies immediately entered Brussels, Breda, Gertruydenberg, Antwerp, Mons, Namur, and Ostend.

The effect produced in Paris by these disasters was particularly unfavourable to the commander, who, it was said, had been induced to sign treaties with the allied generals, from which having gained a truce, he signified his intention of marching his army to the capital for the purpose of reforming abuses. Previous, however, to the arrival of this

intelligence, a decree had been passed ordering him to the bar of the convention, in consequence of which commissioners were dispatched to arrest him. Instead, however, of respecting their authority, on their arrival Dumourier had them seized, and sent as hostages for the royal family to the prince of Cobourg. He then made several attempts to obtain the support of the army, but a spirit of revolt appearing, he seized the military chest and fled, attended by some troops who continued to accompany him, but the chest was recaptured.

On the arrival of this intelligence at Paris, Dumourier was declared a traitor, and the convention having outlawed him, offered besides a reward of a hundred thousand crowns, with a full restoration of property, to any emigrant who should destroy him:

The flight of Dumourier brought with it, among other consequences, the destruction of the infamous duke of Orleans *, whose son had assisted

* As the history of this individual's life presents a series of the most criminal acts, and may besides illustrate the events of this important period, it may not be improper to advert to it at some length.—Louis Philip Joseph, duke of Orleans, one of the French princes of the blood, was born at St. Cloud on the 13th of April, 1747, and was the son of Louis Philippe d'Orleans, and Louise Henriette de Bourbon Conti. This prince rendered the title of duc de Chartres, which he bore till his father's death, celebrated by his extreme depravity.

him, and although he declared that he would sacrifice the life of his child for the sake of his

He first conducted to an early grave the prince de Lamballe, son of the duc de Penthièvre, who was the companion of his excesses; and his enemies accused him of having aimed at thus appropriating to himself the riches of his victim, whose sister he married, and who was too truly deserving not to be rendered miserable by her husband. He was in stature below the middle size, but very well made, and his features were regular and pleasing, till libertinism and debauchery covered it completely with red, inflamed pustules. He was very early bald, and some of the young nobles of his house, for the sake of resembling him, had their hair taken off: he was well skilled in all bodily exercises, compassionate in his domestic relations, and endowed with great natural abilities, though ignorant and credulous. In short, it is most true that he had no character, and that, weary of pleasure, he was desirous of trying guilt as a new gratification, heightened by revenge, which was his ruling passion. As he was to succeed the duc de Penthièvre in the office of high admiral, he thought fit, in 1778, to make a naval campaign, and commanded the rear-guard of M. d'Orvillier's fleet in the battle of Ushant, in which he was on board an eighty-four gun ship. By a sudden movement, this division being opposite to the enemy, the admiral, the count d'Orvilliers, gave the signal for keeping to the windward, to prevent the English from passing; but whether the commanders, to ruin d'Orvilliers, pretended not to comprehend the signal, or whether they really misunderstood it, the English rear-guard was not molested. It was then assiduously noised abroad that the duc de Chartres had concealed himself in the hold of the ship, which seems not probable,

country, he could not either by his own crimes or cunning, escape that just reward of villany which

as the vessel on board which he was, never was in danger, nor even within reach of the cannon. The court, however, took up this injurious anecdote, and when he appeared, overwhelmed him with epigrams: the king, too, instead of making him high admiral, appointed him colonel-general of the hussars, a singular, and even contemptuous reward for sea service, and which is said to have partly laid the foundation of his hatred to Louis. Some time after, he went up in a balloon; and as a few years before he had gone down into a mine, where he had, as it was reported, shewn but little self-possession, it was said that he had thought proper to shew all the elements his cowardice. On the death of the comte de Clermont, he got himself appointed master of all the masonic lodges in France, and this sect was of no small use to him afterwards in overturning the institutions of his country. In 1787 his father died, and he then took the title of duke of Orleans, and sought to render himself popular. Several young parliamentarians became, most of them unconsciously, the instruments of his projects, by inflaming the minds of the multitude in 1788, when the disputes occurred between the court and the parliaments. By the advice of his creatures, he violently opposed the king in the royal meeting on the 19th of November, 1787, and was exiled to Villers Coterets; but in return for the sums he lavished on the rapacious journalists, he soon became the idol of the populace. Another of the methods which he successfully put in practice to obtain the favour of the people, was to buy up corn, and then relieve those who were languishing under this artificial scarcity, a measure which had the advantage of rendering the court odious.

is sometimes seen to descend on the guilty even at the instigation of their associates in enormity ;

without hurting his avarice, which was one of his ruling passions, because the party schemes brought back to him nearly all he sacrificed in the winter of 1788—9, to his ambition and revenge. At this period public tables were spread, and fires lighted by his order, for the paupers of the metropolis, and sums of money distributed likewise among them. It is universally believed that he was for some time undecided as to his future proceedings, in consequence of a proposal to marry his daughter to the duc d'Angoulême, son of the comte d'Artois, and his son to a daughter of the king of Naples ; but hatred, and an insurmountable desire to govern, soon got the better, and his agents, furnished with printed instructions, were dispersed through the provinces to influence the election of deputies to the states-general, while a sort of army at his command ruled Paris. He was delegated to the convocation of the states by the nobility of the bailiwick of Crepy, in Valois ; and the last measures he at that time took, were to write himself, in favour of divorce, and to appear, as if by chance, in the midst of all the tumults, particularly at the pillage of the paper manufactory at Reveillon. In the very earliest meetings he protested against the proceedings of his chamber, and joined that of the tiers-état with the dissentient members of his order, after having, on the 17th of June, endeavoured to make a speech on the subject, which the heat, and yet more a leathern breast-plate, which he had put on for fear of being assassinated, prevented him from terminating. From that period he divided his time between the meetings of the national assembly and those of his own advisers, who assembled first at the Palais Royal, and after-

for he was arrested and conveyed to Marseilles, where he was confined until the guillotine terminated his miserable existence on the 6th Nov. 1793.

wards at Passy. His first scheme, or rather that of his leaders, was, as it appears, to have the king put under an interdict, the queen brought to trial, and himself proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but the shock of the different factions, which were already beginning to form into classes, then rendered the favourable dispositions of the Breton, afterwards Jacobin society, of no avail. On the 3d of July he was nominated president of the national assembly, but he refused the place, and busied himself in corrupting the regiment of French guards, and in preparing the events of July the 14th, which his counsellors assured him were necessary to terrify the court, and free himself from many persons who were in his way. These measures coinciding with those of Necker and the Breton club, took full effect, though it would have been out of the power of his creatures to induce him to act for himself. On the 21st he went down among the crowd who were assembled in the Palais Royal, but he had only as much resolution as served him to utter these words:—"There is but one way, which is, to take arms;" and immediately retired to his own apartments. The same day, however, his bust was carried about in triumph with Necker's. On the 13th new libels against the queen were distributed, and to profit by the events of July the 14th, it was resolved in his council, that he should offer Louis the XVIth his mediation with the people, on condition that the king would grant him the place of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but this overture he had never sufficient resolution to make. The invasion of Versailles took place soon after, and though all the depositions taken

The affairs of the republic now began to present a very gloomy aspect, for in addition to the danger

at the Châtelet relative to the 5th and 6th of October agreed in pointing out the duke of Orleans as the chief instigator of the riot, ever faithful to his character, he had not strength to complete his crime, and to direct the arms which would and could have saved him. It has often been disputed, whether he was himself at Versailles in the night between the 5th and 6th of October : his partisans denied it ; yet it is difficult to doubt the testimony of a man like M. Malouet, who, in his deposition at the Châtelet, asserted that he had seen, and even spoken to him there. This dreadful night not having answered his wishes, he gave a yet more convincing proof of the weakness of his soul, in the manner of his yielding to the threats of La Fayette, who, though almost as timid as himself, ventured to menace him with the tribunals if he did not immediately leave France. Mirabeau in vain resorted to promises, and even threats, to detain him ; always fancying himself pursued by his pale accuser, he thought himself supremely happy under the pretence of a mission to the king of England, to interpose the sea between himself and a throne, which he a few days before hoped to invade ; upon which Mirabeau uttered a phrase which forcibly describes him, and of which decency alone forbids the repetition. However, at the end of eight months, he got the better of his apprehensions, and ventured, in spite of fresh orders from La Fayette, to return to Paris, where he was received with transport by the Jacobins, and hastening to the assembly, he took an oath of fidelity to the nation, the law, and the sovereign. On the 3d of September Chabroud appeared in the tribune, to clear the duke of Orleans from the accusations brought against him respect

which threatened the frontiers, foreign supplies were intercepted by powerful navies, and Russia,

ing the affair of Versailles, and covered himself with disgrace in the eyes of all parties. Biron was so shameless as to share in this task, and Ferriere defended his patron in a bad work, which Malouet, in a pamphlet of two pages, devoted to eternal infamy. On the 18th of February, 1790, he sent his civic oath from London to the assembly, and renewed it on the 11th of July following in the tribune, after his return; at which period he published an account of his conduct in the revolution. When Louis fled in June, 1791, he declared in a public letter, that if the regency were offered him, he should decline it. Nevertheless, most of the factious persons, some of whom were weary of serving so pusillanimous a chief, and others who were no longer in want of his support, began to abandon him, and the young Barnave, full of talent and daring, struck the most violent blows at his party, by uniting for other schemes many members of the left side, who in their former disunited state had often unintentionally seconded Philip's views. In the month of August, 1791, he declared against depriving the members of the royal family of the rights inherent in active citizens, protesting that if the motion was carried he was determined to renounce the privileges of a member of the reigning family, and claim those only of a French citizen; but he was then reminded, that neither for his children nor his creditors could he put this renunciation in effect. The legislature was hardly assembled, when he sent Voidel and Petion to London, to prepare for another monopoly of corn, but this plan having failed, he made a speculation in sugars, which again occasioned several tumults. At this period M. Thevenard, before he resigned the administration of the marine, caused

as well as Spain, joined the other powers, which were already in actual hostility. A war, how-

the duke to be appointed admiral of France, in order to secure to Louis more popularity with the new assembly, a nomination which, with the circumstances attending it, had perhaps a very great influence over the fate of the royal family, and of the duke himself, who went to Bertrand de Moleville, the successor of M. Thevenard, expressed all his gratitude to him, and his hopes that the new appointment would enable him to prove to the king how much he had been misrepresented. The astonishment which this language excited in the minister, brought on explanations and confidential communications which must have surprised him still more, for M. Bertrand himself states, that the duke assured him his name had been made a cover for a thousand atrocities, of which he had not the least knowledge, and of which he had been supposed guilty, because he had thought fit to avoid the disgrace of justifying himself. The minister, hoping no doubt to profit by these right sentiments, then advised him to make overtures of reconciliation to the king, which the prince seemed much to desire, but to hesitate at for fear of a refusal.—M. Bertrand undertook to apply to Louis the XVIth., who consented to this healing of differences, and granted the new admiral a long audience; afterwards informing his ministers that he was well pleased with the prince, whom he believed to be really reformed, and disposed to repair his errors, and the mischief he had done, “in which,” added the king, “he has not perhaps had so great a share as we supposed.” Things being, though unknown to the courtiers, in this state, the duke, a few days after, on a Sunday in January, 1792, appeared at the king’s levee, to pay his respects: the royalists, who were usually at the

ever, still more destructive was felt in the capital, where jealousy in the convention had risen to

palace in great numbers on those days, loaded him with the most humiliating insults, and seemed to have formed a determination to crush him beneath the weight of contempt; they jostled, they pushed, they elbowed him; they trod on his feet, they drove him to the door, when he went down to the queen's apartment, where the table was spread; they cried out on seeing him, "Look to the dishes," as if he had meant to poison them; and lastly, on descending the staircase, they spit on his head and his clothes. A scene so humiliating, and outrages so violent, to which he would never be persuaded that the king and queen were not privy, kindled in his heart the most violent rage, and most irreconcilable enmity; when he went out his whole face glowed with a desire of vengeance, and thenceforward he united himself yet more strictly with the revolutionary party. He even wished to serve in Luckner's army, but the court fearing, no doubt, that he might acquire influence over the troops, refused to consent. Of this he complained to the assembly, and it is believed that his partisans made violent efforts in his favour on the 20th of June and 10th of August, 1792, as they had before done in June, 1791, in the Champ de Mars. It is even asserted, that the prince joined with the other demagogues in the formation of the municipality, called that of August the 10th; but he must then have perceived, that instead of governing the factions, he was himself carried away by an impulse wholly foreign to his schemes. Yet had he still influence sufficient to get himself deputed in September to the convention; but at that moment the remainder of his false friends finally abandoned him, and his accomplices themselves declared against him, hoping to play that

such a height as seemed to announce the approaching destruction either of the Brissotine or

part in a republic they had been originally desirous of assigning to him. Fauchet, Manuel, and Merlin de Thionville in particular, proved themselves his foes, and every body successively deserting his cause, the republic, as Robespierre afterwards said, slipped in by stealth among the various factions. It seems that the ministerial faction which belonged to the Gironde, remained longest faithful to him. In December he printed a Profession of Faith, in which he recapitulated all the services he had rendered the republic, and formally renounced his rights to the throne, for the sake of retaining those of a citizen, adding, that his sons were ready to sign this glorious renunciation with their blood. On the 15th of September, 1792, the commune of Paris authorized him to assume the name of *Egalité* (Equality) for himself and his descendants, and deputed him to the national convention, conjointly with Marat, the two Robespierres, Danton, Collot, d'Herbois, Camillus, Desmoulins, Manuel, Freron, and Legendre. He soon, however, became an object of denunciation to the Gironde, for the members of that faction believing, or feigning to believe, that the deputation and municipality of Paris were desirous of placing Orleans on the throne, insisted on the expulsion of Philip, and indeed of all the Bourbons, whenever a proposal was made of bringing Louis to trial. When this event at last took place, he voted for the death of his cousin with a degree of coolness which irritated the majority of the Jacobins themselves, and excited murmurs throughout the whole assembly; besides which, he gave a great entertainment, at which he assembled the Maratists, with such deputies as were supposed to be wavering, a great number of

mountain party. A succession of struggles in consequence resulted, in which both endeavoured

whom he succeeded in terrifying, or gaining over. It is said that Pelletier de St. Fargeau alone secured to him twenty-five votes, which before this meeting he had intended should be given in the king's favour. On the fatal day, Egalité came to the Place de Louis XV., and was present during the execution in an open carriage; as soon as the body was removed he returned to the Palais Royal, and went in a carriage drawn by six horses, to revel at Raincy with his accomplices. It was then said that the prince of Wales, having been informed of his conduct on this occasion, tore his portrait, which he had left him. Some time afterwards his unhappy wife was parted from him, and the duc de Penthièvre dying on the 4th of March, he hastened to Vernon, to seize all he could of the rich inheritance; on the 9th, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and some others, went to him and took from him a part of what he had got under pretence of a popular insurrection in his favour; but the insurrection never took place, and they pleaded the next day, in their excuse, that his courage failed at the decisive moment for going to the town-hall, nay, that he had even fainted. This was the last effort they seemed willing to make in his favour, and towards the end of April Robespierre had him erased from the list of Jacobins, though Egalité had sworn to the convention, on the 4th of the same month, that if his son, who had just fled with Dumourier, was guilty, the image of Brutus, which was before his eyes, would remind him of his duty. At last a warrant was issued for his arrest, and in vain did he address the convention with all the native meanness of his depraved soul, in vain did he implore his former accomplices—his destruction

to support themselves by the popular voice ; but the latter being rather the less scrupulous in

was resolved on ; all parties imputed to each other as a crime, a connexion with him and with the other members of his family ; he was soon removed to the prisons of Marseilles, where he so abandoned himself to low and gross debauchery, that the prince de Conti determined on writing to the convention, to request a separation from him, affirming, " that he should prefer death to the torment of living with such a man ;" but his petition was rejected. The criminal tribunal of the Bouches du Rhône was gained over by such of his agents as were still at liberty to declare him innocent ; but the committee of public safety forbade his enlargement, and after six months' captivity he was sent to take his trial at Paris. On being summoned before the revolutionary tribunal, he replied with some degree of calmness and presence of mind, and when sentence of death was pronounced on him, he received it with more courage than was expected : he died with resolution, and did not change colour till he approached the scaffold. He conversed a long time with a confessor immediately before his execution, which took place on the 6th of November, 1793, when he was 46 years of age. He shrugged his shoulders on hearing the people hiss and curse him as he was led to death, and cried out, " They used to applaud me." His body was thrown into the cemetery of the Madeleine, with those of the other victims.—Such was the end of this prince, who was still more base than wicked. His name was long to be met with in all the revolutionary proscriptions, for Mirabeau, Danton, Dumourier, Tallien, Barras, and many others, were frequently accused of being his disciples.

their choice of means, contrived on most occasions to maintain the ascendancy. The mountain party was besides powerfully assisted by that horrible court obtained by Danton, called the Extraordinary Criminal Tribunal, and afterwards the Revolutionary Tribunal; appointed with a view of more speedily destroying those who were considered obnoxious, and which was composed of the most cruel of the Jacobins. In the beginning of June, the mountain party succeeded in exciting several insurrections, through which the Brissotines were completely overcome. In the mean time, Brissot, feeling himself in danger, attempted to quit the kingdom by means of false passports; but he was seized, and with seventy-three other members thrown into confinement.

The army had been for some time in a state of insubordination, arising partly from the defection of Dumourier, and partly from the crowds of women who accompanied it. This circumstance the allies did not fail to take advantage of, and accordingly they improved their recent successes by pressing towards the interior. On the 7th of April they took possession of the strong post of Maulde, blockaded Conde, and prepared to besiege Valenciennes. In consequence of these movements, repeated skirmishes took place between the allies, and the French under Dampierre (who succeeded Dumourier), which uni-

formly ended in the defeat of the latter, and in one of which that general was mortally wounded.

Custine, who was appointed to the command of the French army on the death of Dampierre, was spoken of as possessing great courage and a rigorous attention to discipline; he, however, did not arrive in time to prevent the allies from taking possession of the strong camp of Famars; soon after which they also took Condé, after a severe blockade, which reduced the garrison to the greatest extremity.

The duke of York, with British* troops, con-

* On the 1st of August, the following decree was passed in the national convention :

Art. 1. The national convention denounces the British government to Europe and the British nation.—Art. 2. Every Frenchman that shall place his money in the English funds shall be declared a traitor to his country.—Art. 3. Every Frenchman who has money in the English funds, or those of any other power with whom France is at war, shall be obliged to declare the same.—Art. 4. All foreigners, subjects of the powers now at war with France, particularly the English, shall be arrested, and seals put upon their papers.—Art. 5. The barriers of Paris shall be instantly shut.—Art. 6. All good citizens shall be required in the name of the country to search for the foreigners concerned in the plot denounced.—Art. 7. Three millions shall be at the disposal of the minister at war, to facilitate the march of the garrison of Mentz to La Vendée.—Art. 8. The minister at war shall send to the army on the coast of Rochelle, all the combus-

ducted the siege of Valenciennes, which maintained a long and obstinate resistance, general Ferrand, who commanded, having declared that rather than capitulate he would bury himself in its ruins. At length, however, it was surrendered, (July 28), but not until rendered incapable of further resistance, by the destruction of the fortifications, and the death of half the garrison.

The armies of Prussia and of Spain at this period, presented to the French very formidable objects in their respective destinations, the former

tible materials necessary to set fire to the forests and underwood of La Vendée.—Art. 9. The women, the children, and old men, shall be conducted to the interior part of the country.—Art. 10. The property of the rebels shall be confiscated for the benefit of the Republic.—Art. 11. A camp shall be formed without delay between Paris and the northern army.—Art. 12. All the family of the Capets shall be banished from the French territory, those excepted who are under the sword of the law, and the offspring of Louis Capet, who shall both remain in the temple.—Art. 13. Marie Antoinette shall be delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal, and shall be immediately conducted to the prison of the Conciergerie; Louis Elizabeth shall remain in the temple till after the judgment of Marie Antoinette.—Art. 14. All the tombs of the kings which are at St. Denis, and in the departments, shall be destroyed on August the 10th.—Art. 15. The present decree shall be dispatched by extraordinary couriers to all the departments.

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having taken possession of Mentz (which maintained a desperate resistance, probably from fear of the republican government), surrendering on the 22d of July, and the latter having put itself in an imposing attitude in the siege of Perpignan.

CHAPTER III.

Tumults in La Vendée.—Toulon taken by the English.—Fête observed on completion of new Constitution.—National Convention declared permanent during the War.—Fearful Energy of the Republican Government.—A Decree obtained by which the whole of France is placed at its controul.—The Queen beheaded.—Destruction of the Brissotines.—Sanguinary Measures of the Victors.—A number of leading Persons destroyed.—Surrender of Toulon.

THE conflict of parties in France was at this time by no means at an end, for although the mountain party had succeeded in gaining the ascendancy at Paris, their influence was very equivocal in the departments, where a considerable armed force was needful to preserve any thing like order. In several districts serious tumults occurred, but in no part of France did this spirit manifest itself so uncontrollably as in La Vendée. Here the most devoted friends of the former government assembled, and being disgusted with the murderous conduct of the democrats, they resolved to encounter any extent of danger rather

than tamely yield to the domination of men, who, whilst pretending to pursue the most refined doctrines of liberty, imposed on their suffering country a system of the most horrible oppression.

The nobles and peasants of La Vendée were the persons who chiefly composed the undisciplined but enthusiastic army, which from their devotedness so soon became formidable enemies of the republicans; they were at first furnished only with pitchforks, staves, knives fixed at the end of poles, and implements of husbandry; but their determined bravery soon put them in possession of more powerful weapons, whereby they so prevailed as to gain many principal towns, being very generally successful at the commencement.

The marchioness of La Rochejaqueline, in her interesting narrative of this impassioned struggle, states their force to have amounted to about eighty thousand, the mass of whom were animated by a very unusual degree of heroism. The convention at first looked upon them with contempt; but when, after a long series of triumphs, they took possession of Fontenay, the capital of La Vendee, they found it needful to change their opinion, and accordingly employed against them measures of the most decisive kind, directing the republican army to destroy all who might be found engaged with them, sparing neither sex nor age,

the towns which they possessed being given up to plunder, and the houses of their chiefs to the flames.

At Nantes their advance was first interrupted, General Biron, who had been called from the army of Italy, burnt the chateau of Lescure, as did Westerman that of La Rochejaqueline: they, however, still maintained a formidable attitude, and entertained the most sanguine expectations of being able to succeed finally in the re-establishment of the ancient government. In these efforts they were assisted by continual reinforcements from among the emigrants, as well as by a powerful fleet from England, under the command of Lord Hood, who gained possession of Toulon, which he announced his intention of holding in the name of Louis XVII.

At this time also insurrections* took place in

* In the month of July, an obscure female journeyed to Paris for the purpose of assassinating Marat. This man, who had succeeded in attaching to himself so much importance, was born, in 1744, of protestant parents; in person he was not five feet high: his face was hideous, his character of countenance horrible, and his head monstrous for his size. From nature he derived a daring mind, an ungoverned imagination, a vindictive temper, and a ferocious heart; and the mode of life he pursued till the revolution, added yet more to his natural wildness and cruelty. It has been said that he studied medicine before he settled in Paris, where he was long in indigence. Afterwards he obtained the title of veterinary surgeon to the

several of the French colonies, and some of the West India islands were surrendered to the British.

Comte d'Artois; but at the period of the revolution his enthusiasm rising to delirium, he set up a journal, and became a charlatan in politics. In his paper, which was called the *People's Friend*, he never ceased abusing the king, the ministers, and the nobles, preaching up revolt, murder, and pillage; exciting disputes between the citizens and the king's constitutional guard; persecuting La Fayette, the enemy of the duke of Orleans; urging the armies to murder their generals, and attacking the lives and fortunes of all the citizens. Several times he was denounced and accused, but he escaped all authority, all search, sometimes by flight, sometimes by dint of hardihood and impudence. On the 10th of August, he, with Robespierre and the other leaders, inflamed the troops and the populace, and after inciting them to tumult, lay concealed while it took place. But as soon as the king had been hurried from his palace, they made their appearance again, in order to reap the fruits of their victory: Marat then became a member of the municipality, which was called that of August the 10th, and president of that terrible committee for superintending the commune, which was composed in a great measure of strangers, and which, seizing all power, organized terror and anarchy. The massacres in the prisons followed this usurpation; it was Marat who conceived the execrable project of murdering all that remained of the nobles, the royalists, and the princes, after the 10th of August, who, on the 2d of September, organized that butchery which Robespierre afterwards continued under a show of law, and who, in fine, originally proposed to Danton to clear the prisons in a speedy manner, and to set them on fire

Amidst all these unsuccessful events, the convention were not suffered to lose sight of what

as the most expeditious mode: he himself confirmed all these accusations by signing that circular letter, which the committee of the commune addressed on the 5th of September to all the municipalities in France, urging them to imitate these massacres. Marat was then loaded with accusations, but he was, nevertheless, deputed from Paris to the convention, where he immediately took his seat. On the 6th of December he moved "that the king should be judged by nominal appeal, and the list hung up, that the people might know what traitors were in the convention." At the same time he averred that there existed a great conspiracy to save the king, the chiefs of which were, he said, constituents, ministers, journalists, nobles, and even members of the convention. On the 10th, being dissatisfied with the statement against Louis the XVIth, presented by Lindet, he ascended the tribune, and poured forth a disgusting volley of abuse against the unhappy king: the next day he objected to allowing him counsel, and when the debate concerning his final sentence took place, he voted for his death within twenty-four hours. In one of the numbers of his journal in the month of December, he spoke of his dislike to the post of deputy, declaring "that he should have already resigned it, but for the certainty of events which must soon take place. Massacre," said he to the people, "massacre two hundred thousand partisans of the former order of things, and reduce the members of the convention to a quarter of their present number." On the 6th of January, 1793, disappointed in his wish of obtaining a decree to render the sections permanent, he treated the majority as rogues, shameless beggars, Rolandists, &c.,

appeared particularly important at this crisis, the completion of the constitution; and it was accordingly accomplished, though not without a considerable effort. The anniversary of the overthrow

epithets which Cambon and others repaid him with interest, till the tumult rose to such a height, that the president cracked the bell without being able to restore quiet; and weariness alone put a period to this scandalous scene. The next day he denounced Chaumette as a plotter, and insisted on his being brought to the bar. On the 1st of February he opposed the presentation of an address from the convention to the English, saying, that with the exception of a few philosophers, the nation was not favourable to the revolution. On the 26th of February the Girondins accused him of having recommended pillage, and vehemently prayed for a decree of accusation against him. According to his custom he gloried in his crime, and termed his adversaries *hogs* and *fools*. On the 10th of May he desired that the convention would pass a decree for absolute liberty of opinion: "in order," added he, "that I may be able to send to the scaffold that faction of statesmen who accused me." On the 1st of June he went to the general council of the commune, and there urged the necessity of sending a deputation to the bar, to require in the name of the sovereign people that the convention should give a satisfactory answer, without adjourning, to the petition in which twenty-seven deputies were proscribed; and the next day these members were accused, all save Foufrède, Ducos, St. Martin, Dussault, and Lanthenas, whom he caused to be excepted. At last, on the 14th of July, 1793, Charlotte Corday, a young woman of Normandy, whose lover he had destroyed, with one blow from a dagger freed the world from this monster.

of royalty (10th of August) was fixed upon for the celebration of its acceptance by a fete *, but the

* On this occasion the convention voted the following bombastical address to the nation :

The cries of joy which the acceptance of the constitution has excited in the presence of your representatives, resound, without doubt, through the whole extent of the republic.

Never since men and empires existed, has so great a social act been accomplished in so august and grand a feast. Let your envoys, sent to Paris, do justice to this celebrated city, which has been the object of every calumny, only because she has brought about all our revolutions. Let them say, whether they have not found in every citizen an execrable enemy of tyrants and of anarchy, in every man a friend, in every repast a fraternal feast.

O spectacle, the most magnificent and affecting that the earth has ever displayed to the review of the Eternal!—To arms, Frenchmen!—At the instant when the people, friends, and brothers, embrace each other, the despots of Europe violate your property, and lay waste your frontiers. To arms! rise to a man! Liberty calls for the arms of all those of whom she has received the oaths. This is the second time that tyrants and conspired slaves soil with their feet the territory of a sovereign people. The one half of their sacrilegious army found in it the first time their graves; may they all now perish, and may their bones, whitened in our fields, rise in heaps, as trophies, in the midst of our land, which their blood shall have rendered more fertile. To arms, Frenchmen! cover yourselves with the highest glory in defending your adored liberty, of which the first tranquil days will shed upon you, and upon generations of your descendants, all kinds of happiness and prosperity.

convention did not deem it prudent to resign its functions, as was at first intended when the constitution should have been finally adjusted : such a measure was not without reason thought dangerous in the present disturbed state of things, and therefore a decree was passed for continuing the convention undissolved until the end of the war, and for establishing a revolutionary government, to be conducted by committees, possessed of uncontrolled powers, the chief of which was denominated " the Committee of Public Safety." This committee possessed an uncommon degree of activity, and it gave to the administration all the secrecy, power, and dispatch, which could have been acquired by a military government. It held correspondence with all the jacobin clubs throughout the country, and placed commissioners in all quarters, who were invested with unlimited power over every order of persons : by this union of internal mechanism the revolutionary government acquired a more absolute authority than was ever in the hands of any single despot, and their oppression was speedily found to be commensurate with their ability.

On the 23d of August, Barrere procured the passing of the celebrated decree for placing the French nation in a state of requisition for the public service—a calamity at which every reflecting person might tremble, since if it had been intended to deride the very name of liberty, it could

not have been more effectually done than by the tenour of this ruinous law, part of which ran thus :
“ From this moment till that when all enemies shall have been driven from the territory of the republic, all Frenchmen shall be in readiness for the service of the army. The young men shall march to the combat ; the married men shall forge arms and transport the provisions ; the women shall make tents and clothes and attend in the hospitals ; the children shall make lint of old linen ; the old men shall cause themselves to be carried to the public squares, to excite the courage of the warriors and to preach hatred against the enemies of the republic ; the cellars shall be washed to procure saltpetre ; the saddle horses shall be given up to complete the cavalry ; the unmarried citizens, from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, shall march first, and none shall send a substitute ; every battalion shall have a banner with these words “ The French nation risen against tyrants.” The effect of this despotic law, which rent the hearts of * families by multitudes, was speedily felt in the horrors of a war, with the slaughter of

* The affecting simplicity of the following article, taken from the conventional minutes of the day, will give a just idea of the miserable state of things at this period :

“ August 26. A deputation from Vincennes and the adjacent commonalties, consisting of persons of all ages, sexes, and descriptions, was admitted to the bar, when their orator made the following address :—‘ It is but a little while ago that we appeared within this hall to chant hymns of joy and

which nothing of any modern date can at all compare. The republican government, making no account of the loss of lives, were by means of this decree enabled constantly to restore or augment their forces at pleasure, and the armies of France appeared in consequence as if continually issuing from an inexhaustible source.

The republican government, by which is to be understood the victorious (mountain or jacobin) party, now beginning to revive from the effect of recent reverses, exhibited the darkness of its character with a frightful energy. On the 15th of October they summoned the queen to their bar, and on the day following struck off the head of that beautiful and heroic woman *. On the 30th they completed their triumph over the Brissotines,

congratulation, but now we must utter before you cries of distress and shrieks of woe!—We are absolutely left without bread, and what little has remained is of the most unwholesome and detestable quality. We suffer the horrors of famine, since we are no longer allowed to purchase our provisions at Paris. We see inscribed on every door or gate the words Equality! Fraternity! Yet Paris has bread and we have none; and when we come to fetch some, instead of finding brothers we see cannon planted against our breasts!—Legislators, take into consideration our sufferings and our distress!”

Here another deputation of citizens from Charenton and its adjacent commonalties, equal in number to the former, was admitted to the bar, and told the same distressing and pitiful tale.

* Vide Authentic Memoirs of the Revolution, p. 324.

and Girondists, by their utter destruction. On that fatal day, * Brissot, with no less than twenty more

* J. P. Brissot de Warville was born on the 14th of January, 1754, in a village near Chartres; his father kept a cook's shop, which occasioned the saying, that the son had all the heat of his father's stoves. A remarkable thing in the life of a philosopher and a leveller, was his vanity in adding to his name that of Ouarville (his father had bought an estate in that village) a name which he changed to that of Warville during his residence in England. After having passed four years in an attorney's office, he turned author, and at twenty years of age had already published several works, one of which occasioned his imprisonment in the Bastile, in 1784. Madame de Genlis says in her memoirs, that it was she who released him, through the interest of the duke de Chartres. He married a person attached to the household of Madame d'Orleans, and afterwards went to England. He lived there on pay as a spy from the lieutenant of police at Paris; at the same time he employed himself in literature, and endeavoured to form an academy in London, but this establishment had no success, and he returned to France. In 1788 he went to America, and it was also said that he had been sent thither by the secret organizers of the revolution, to study the principles of democracy, and to investigate the condition of the negroes; on his return he published a work on the United States. Being determined to play a distinguished part in the approaching revolution, at the time of the convocation of the states-general, he published at Paris some pamphlets, and afterwards, the journal called the French Patriot. When the commune of Paris formed itself in July, 1789, he became a member of it, and on the day of the taking of the Bastile,

of the principal men of their number, were executed, seventy-one being still continued in prison.

was presented with the keys of that fortress, where he had been confined, as before mentioned. This same commune having formed within itself a committee of research, he was named president of it, and became, as it were, grand-inquisitor, in conjunction with Voidel, who filled the same office in the national assembly. When La Fayette gave in his resignation of the command of the Parisian guards, Brissot, who afterwards attacked him, spoke of this event at the time as a public calamity. In July, 1791, he addressed to the Jacobins a very inconsistent speech on the war, and on the state of other powers, from whom, he said, that France had nothing to apprehend. Brissot was at the same time one of the principal instigators of the insurrection prepared in the Champ de Mars, to demand the expulsion of Louis XVI. and the establishment of a republican form of government. La Fayette, who dispersed this mob, he from that time considered as his enemy. Being deputed from Paris to the legislative assembly, he was appointed secretary on the 18th of October, 1791. On the 20th, he developed the causes of emigration, and proposed rigorous measures against the princes and public functionaries who had quitted France; on the 27th, he defended the creoles of St. Domingo, and having, on the 30th, resumed the same subject, he begged the assembly to attach them to the cause of liberty. The friends of the negroes soon after admitted him into the colonial committee, and on the 3d of December following, he appeared again in the tribune, with a speech against the proprietors of the colonies; he proposed a decree of accusation against the members of the general assembly of St. Domingo, and against M. de Blanchelande: on the

Thus did that faction fall, which, like its opponents, had laboured rather to overthrow than to

29th, he shewed, in a long speech, the connexions of France with foreign powers, and concluded by demanding the recal of the French envoys at Stockholm, Petersburg, Madrid, and Rome. On the 17th of January, 1792, he denounced the violation of the treaty of 1756, by the house of Austria, and proposed to demand satisfaction for it. At the end of February, he attributed the disasters of St. Domingo to the refusal to admit men of colour into the primary assemblies of that colony. On the 1st of March, he, for the second time, accused the minister *Delessart*, and after reproaching him with not having informed the assembly of the treaty of *Pilnitz*, he demanded a decree of accusation against him, which was carried by a great majority. On the 22d of April, the king came to the assembly with a proposal of declaring war against Austria, which was universally applauded. The opposite parties reproached *Brissot* with having brought this scourge on his country, but after the 10th of August he cleared himself from it in the Jacobin society, where the dangers to which liberty was exposed were attributed to him, by saying, that he had wished by these means to pave the way for the abolition of royalty. "The king," added he, "being bound by the constitution to head the armies himself, offered us an opportunity to condemn him." Shortly after the declaration of war, he and *Gensonné* gave notice that there was an Austrian committee, and mentioned *Messieurs de Montmorin*, *Duport Dutertre*, and *Bertrand de Moleville*, as the principal members. On the 9th of July, he spoke with vehemence against the king of Prussia, accused *Louis XVI.*, the ministers, the generals, *La Fayette* in particular, and ended by saying, that "to strike at the Thuil-

establish, and which was now doomed to feel the terrible nature of those experiments which are

eries, was to strike at the root of the evil." On the 25th of the same month he divided the enemies of the constitution into three classes: that of the rebels of Coblenz, that of the partisans of the two chambers, and that of the regicides, who desired to have a republic and a dictator. On the 6th of August he brought various charges against La Fayette, and voted for a decree of accusation; on the 10th he obtained a declaration that the ministers did not possess the confidence of the people, and the new ministry was almost wholly made up of his adherents. Notwithstanding this success, his credit began from that time to decline, because his faction was desirous of stopping the revolution at this point, whereas the Jacobins, who were still far removed from power, sought to carry it farther. He shewed himself to be one of the most inveterate enemies of Louis XVI. at the time of the debates respecting his deposition, and afterwards carried his motion for disbanding the Swiss regiments. When appointed a member of the convention, Brissot remained at the head of the diplomatic committee, in whose name he proposed war with Holland and England. At the time of the trial of Louis XVI. he strove to bring the subject of his condemnation before the people, and afterwards voted for his death, with a reprieve till after the ratification of the constitution by the primary assemblies. However, he saw his party insensibly dwindle amidst the revolutionary torrent. The accusations of the Montagnards against the Brissotins and the Girondins were multiplied, and they in particular upbraided Brissot with his connexion with Dumourier, and even with La Fayette. On the 25th of May, Robespierre represented him as occupied in preparing an aristocratical

connected with releasing mankind from the bonds of law and the obligations of morality.

The number of victims at this period was almost incredible, the thirst of blood which pervaded the Jacobins appeared insatiable. Among them were Gorsas, a friend and literary coadjutor of Brissot; Kersaint, a skilful sea officer;

constitution, with two chambers, &c. &c., and then insisted on having him summoned before the revolutionary tribunal. The sections urged with no less vehemence his expulsion from the convention, till at length on the 31st of May the fatal blow was struck. Being with the other leaders of his faction ordered under arrest, he endeavoured to escape to Switzerland as a merchant of Neuchâtel, but he was seized at Moulins, and was brought back to Paris, where he arrived on the 23d of June, and was guillotined on the 31st of October. He was thirty-nine years of age, of a middling stature, slightly formed, and pale. He was so passionate an admirer of the Americans, that he had adopted the appearance of a Quaker, and was rather pleased at being taken for one. Amidst the Girondins, Brissot could at most be no more than a leader in opinion; he gave his name to a party without having any of the qualities requisite to conduct it; several others of this faction were his superiors in courage, in boldness, and in talents. He published twelve volumes of compilations on criminal law: an *Essay on the uncertain and doubtful Regions of Science*; a critical *Examination of Chatelux's Travels in North America*; *A Picture of the Situation of the English in India*; *Political Letters on the History of England*; and a number of revolutionary pamphlets, the last of which, against anarchy, was one cause of his condemnation.

and Rabaud St. Etienne, executed without trial as outlaws. The wife of Rabaud shot herself sitting on the brink of a well, so that her body fell into the water. Manuel*, who had been so

* L. P. Manuel was born at Montargis, and, though a common porter, he received a tolerably good education, took a degree, became an usher in a college at Paris, and afterwards preceptor to the son of Tourton, the banker, who allowed him an annuity. He published a pamphlet, on account of which he was confined three months in the Bastille, and became a member of the Jacobin society from its very first establishment, but obtained no influence in it till the year 1791, when he was appointed attorney to the commune. He then gave a free vent to his audacious invectives against every species of authority, and published a letter addressed to Louis XVI., beginning thus: "Sire, I do not love kings." On the 17th of May he proposed, in the Jacobin society, to shut up the queen in the Val de Grace during the war, as a suspected person, and was the soul of the insurrection on the 20th of June. The department suspended him from his functions, but he obtained a decree for his restoration; and when again in his place, he said that, "the department and the king wanted to paralyze his zeal, but that he had been stronger than they." He powerfully assisted in the events which happened on the 10th of August; and on the 12th appeared at the bar, proposed that Louis XVI. should be confined in the Temple, and had the satisfaction of conveying him thither. When deputy from Paris to the convention, he undertook to inform the king of the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of a republic; but from that moment, whether the view of calamity opened his heart to pity, or whether the calmness and serenity of Louis, the fortitude

much engaged about the person of the king, attempted to escape by setting on foot a report

of his wife, and the gentleness of his children, disarmed his resentment, he seemed to feel for their situation, and attempted to ameliorate it. He left Robespierre's party, and endeavoured to defer the king's trial by proposing to the convention that the people should be gathered together in primary assemblies, and consulted whether they would consent to the final abolition of royalty. This change of opinion surprised all the hearers, and every one strove to penetrate the mystery: the Jacobins affirmed that he had been gained over by the queen; others declared, "that at the time when the Prussians were without opposition penetrating into Champagne, Manuel had induced Louis to write to the king of Prussia, conjuring him to retreat, as the only method of saving him, on which condition Manuel and the rest of the commune would sign an agreement that his life should be secure, that this letter was written, and that Manuel, faithful to his oath, changed his opinion, and voted for the king's confinement and banishment in the event of a peace." But this fact is disputed, and Malesherbes, desirous of ascertaining the truth, questioned the hapless monarch, who affirmed that he had not written, and that if such a letter existed, his writing must have been counterfeited. He added, as a certain fact, that the duke of Orleans could imitate his signature, but that he could not believe he had made use of his dangerous talent on this occasion. Be that as it may, Manuel professed the same principles on the 5th of November in the Jacobin society, where he excited no less surprise than in the convention, where he was heard to declare, that "the massacres of September the 2d had been the St. Bartholomew of the people, which had that day shewn

that he had been killed. He retired to Montargis, his native town ; but was soon discovered,

itself as wicked as a king." Collot d'Herbois then reproached him with speaking contrary to his sentiments, and condemning that great day in which he, Manuel, had been the chief actor. All these contradictions ruined Manuel ; and having, moreover, pleaded the cause of several emigrants, and attacked the tribunes, which were full of Jacobins, it was immediately asserted in full convocation, that he was distracted. He was so loaded with insults that, on the 19th of January, 1793, he was forced to resign, and then wrote to the assembly, " that composed as it was, there was no possibility of its saving France, and that a good man could do no more than wrap himself in his cloak." Upon this Choudieu proposed to declare him an infamous traitor for deserting his post, but the proposal ended in nothing, and Manuel retired to Montargis, where he was attacked in the course of March by a band of furious ruffians, who knocked him down with stones and sticks, and left him for dead. He, however, survived this outrage, and was seized as a suspected person, and conveyed to the Conciergerie, where his appearance inspired general horror, as the prisoners looked on him as one of the principal authors of the massacres of September. A prisoner pushed him against a pillar still polluted with the blood of the victims slain on that disastrous day, and cried out, in a loud voice, " See, wretch ! the blood thou hast caused to be shed ; this blood rises up against thee !" When the queen's trial came on he was summoned as a witness against her, but far from accusing her, he praised her fortitude, and pitied her misfortunes. When brought before the revolutionary tribunal he defended himself with courage and pre-

conveyed to Paris, and executed. Le Brun, the minister, made his escape from Paris; but was seized in a cock-loft, and put to death. Claviere, on receiving his act of accusation, stabbed himself; his wife took poison. Roland was twice arrested, but when sought for a third time, it was found he had escaped; Madame Roland was therefore taken as a hostage for his appearance. She soon terminated her turbulent life on the scaffold, and her husband, on hearing the intelligence, stabbed himself. By the very singular turn which had now taken place in affairs at Paris, and which might be considered probably by some, even in those dreadful days, as evidential of an over-ruling and retributive justice, which is seldom seen wholly to reserve its awful decisions for a future state, one race of tyrants became the scourge of another, and brought down death on the heads of those who had formerly

sence of mind, and owned it was his wish that the king, whom he was reproached with a desire to save, might be sent to America. He energetically reminded his judges of his revolutionary services, and said, "No; the attorney of the commune on the 10th of August, is not a traitor: I desire that it may be engraven on my tomb-stone that I occasioned the events of that day; on hearing his condemnation he turned pale, and fell into a state of dejection, from which he did not recover till the moment when he received the fatal stroke, which was on the 14th of November, 1793, when he was forty-two years of age.

sported with the pangs of their fellow-men. Thus the once celebrated Barnave was accused of conspiring against liberty, and executed amid the most ferocious exclamations; and Bailly, who had more than rivalled him in popularity, was conveyed to the scaffold with circumstances of unusual barbarity. He was preceded by a red flag, and in his way was violently assaulted, pelted, beat, and spit upon. At the Champ de Mars, a flag was burned in a fire there prepared, over which the criminal was compelled to sit, his head being constantly forced into the smoke; nor was it until he had been completely exhausted, that he was permitted to meet his death, for which he was at last compelled to wait until the guillotine could be taken to pieces, and again erected on a dunghill. But Barnave and Bailly only drank of the cup they had prepared for others; the first by his dreadful sarcasm, when he inquired, if the blood shed by the mob in July, 1789, was so very pure; and the other, when he termed the horrible days of October, in the same year, "beautiful."

At the beginning of September, general Cartaux besieged Toulon. On his removal to the army of Italy he was succeeded by general Dugommier. The town was strengthened by British troops, under general O'Hara from Gibraltar, and the French were at first repulsed; they, however, took advantage of the momentary indiscretion which success had

occasioned, rushed forward, and following their attack with a furious charge, carried, on the 19th of December, the fort, which induced the allies to evacuate the town; upon which a scene of the utmost confusion ensued, in consequence of the fears felt by the inhabitants at the approach of the republicans. On quitting Toulon, the allies having set on fire the arsenal and shipping, crowds of persons of all ranks, ages, and sex, pressed to be received on board the vessels; but with their most earnest entreaties it was found impossible largely to comply, and many were therefore seen to plunge themselves in the sea amidst agonies of despair.

CHAPTER IV.

Foreign Supplies prevented.—Corsica taken possession of by the English.—Cruelties of Robespierre.—Horrors of La Vendée.—Arrests on Suspicion.—State of the Prisons and increase of Slaughter.—An immense number of persons destroyed.—Robespierre institutes a Festival in honour of the Deity.—Dreadful conclusion of the war in La Vendée.—Impious Ceremonies.—Decrees against the Clergy.—New Calendar.—Inscription for Burial-places.—Death is an eternal Sleep.—Priests renounce Christianity.—Reason worshipped as a Deity personified by a woman.

NOT only had the republican government at this time to contend against the open attacks of the principal surrounding states, but they had also to devise means for obtaining supplies, a measure which they found to be extremely difficult in the face of a hostile world. Tuscany and Genoa indeed afforded some temporary aid, but this was speedily interrupted by the vigilance of the British, who also visited Corsica with their fleet from Toulon, commanded by Lord Hood, to which place General Paoli and a strong party had invited them, for the purpose of rescuing the island from the

French power. A vigorous attack was accordingly made on the place, which having proved completely successful, Corsica was annexed to the British crown, and the convention left to vent their rage against their partisans, who were unable to hold it, in their accustomed tones of death and outlawry.

On the 20th of January, 1794, a report was made to the convention by the committee of public safety, in which a plan of naval operations was developed with the strongest confidence, and in consequence of which it was determined to attempt the attainment of victory by sea. But it may be necessary for the present to turn from this for the purpose of more closely regarding the internal state of France; for it is certain, that at no period of its history did this country endure such a complication of misery as that which fell on it during the concluding months of 1793 and the early part of 1794*.

* One of the most illustrious victims of this period was the celebrated friend of science A. L. Lavoisier, farmer-general, born at, and residing in Paris, who was generally considered as the greatest chemist in Europe. At twenty-three years of age the academy decreed a gold medal to him for a discourse on the best method of lighting a large town by night. Two years after he was appointed one of its members, and devoted his attention to every branch of mathematical and natural science. In 1775 he presented the academy with his first celebrated work, entitled: *New Re-*

Robespierre, who had been gradually acquiring a power of the most dreadful kind, had at this

searches concerning the Existence of an Elastic Fluid. He then became in some measure the centre of all the labours and discoveries on this subject till the year 1792. A series of conclusions on all the phenomena of chemistry are laid down in forty memoirs, which were successively read to the Academy of Sciences during this time, and he still further augmented his reputation by a complete work on this science, which he published in 1789. He improved the manufacture of gunpowder, of which he was overseer, and published two works—one on the Territorial Riches of France, the other on Production and Consumption, compared with Population. In 1787 he was appointed a member of the provincial assembly of the Orleannois, where he had considerable property, and where his bounties have made his memory dear to the inhabitants. He was also one of the managers of the discount chest, and as such he made several statements to the assembly, in 1789 and 1790. In 1791 he was made treasurer to the nation, and in January, 1792, published a work on Finance, which placed their true state in a terrifying light; but the revolutionary axe involved him in the fate of the other farmers-general, and on the 5th of May, 1794, when he was fifty years of age, he was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, as a conspirator who adulterated tobacco with water, and other ingredients hurtful to the health of the inhabitants. France suffered an irreparable loss in M. de Lavoisier, who, foreseeing the fate which awaited him, requested his judges to defer his execution for a fortnight. "I want so much time," he said, "to terminate some experiments which are indispensable to an important work with which I have been several years occupied."

period for his agents or colleagues a race of monsters who were equal to all enormities, and from

I shall then no longer regret my life, which I shall sacrifice to my country." Coffinhal, president of the tribunal, replied :—" The republic has no need of scholars and chemists; the course of justice cannot be suspended." Lavoisier with a firm step ascended the scaffold, and died without discovering any weakness. " Thus," says M. de Segur, " perished the illustrious Lavoisier ; a virtuous citizen, a tender and faithful husband, a celebrated man of science, and an enlightened statesman. This extraordinary man, who, during twenty years, enriched his country with numerous discoveries, operated a revolution in science, by overturning the false doctrine of phlogiston, and bringing forward that of elastic fluids. The new chemistry is indebted to his complete and universally admired system, for its method and progress ; and his inquiries into the nature of air, combustion, the nature of heat, the dissolution of metals, vegetation, fermentation, and animal life, will never be forgotten. He contributed also to the victories of the French, by augmenting the efficacy of gunpowder, and freeing them from the tribute they paid to foreign nations for salt-petre. By his calculations he facilitated the practice of the new measures ; discovered to husbandmen the secret of doubling their crops, and by his political arithmetic taught statesmen new means of keeping order in accounts. His fortune was devoted to the support of the learned, to the extension of science, and the improvement of its instruments ; and his death, like his life, enlightened the universe, by tearing the fatal veil which passion threw over short-sighted minds, and raised the indignation of all the learned in Europe against the Vandals, who wished

whose deeds mankind at large will be wanting in duty to themselves if they do not derive a perpetual warning as to the dangers to which they may stand exposed by passionate political overthrows.

At Paris the fond expectations of those who professed to aim at establishing liberty, were soon completely destroyed by a system of tyranny of the most astonishing kind, which for awhile swept away every obstacle. Early in the year, Robespierre made a report to the convention, on the nature and operations of the revolutionary government; in which he contrived, with singular art and sagacity, to expatiate on general notions of virtue and benevolence, so as to make it appear that those who were too violent or too mild in sentiment, were equally enemies of the republic; and the convention, sanctioning the suggestion, thus rendered every man liable to scrutiny who might be thought in any degree obnoxious to the superior faction.

By these means the number of persons arrested on *suspicion* was greatly increased*. The prisons, to drown it in the blood of all virtuous men, and plunge it again into barbarism."

* The wretched Cloots and Hébert were about this time guillotined.

J. B. de Cloots was originally a Prussian baron, known after the revolution by the name of Anacharsis Cloots: he was

which being insufficient, were augmented by the use of private dwellings, presented the most heart-

born at Clèves on the 24th of June, 1755, and became the possessor of a considerable fortune, which he dissipated by his misconduct. Natural parts, and a fanatic love of liberty, joined to those subtle metaphysics which are so pleasing to German minds, produced in him a confusion which, without entirely depriving him of reason, made him a most original madman. As he was the nephew of Cornelius Pauw, author of several works, he thought he must also be a writer. He travelled in different parts of Europe, and particularly cultivated the society of Burke, who was then a member of the opposition in the *English* parliament; but the philosophy of that old man could not long suit a man of Cloots's character, and the French revolution soon opened to him a career worthy of him. The masquerade, known by the name of the *Embassy of the Human Race*, is the first scene in which he attracted attention; he appeared on the 19th of June, 1790, at the bar of the national assembly, followed by a considerable body of Parisian porters in foreign dresses, whom he presented as deputies from all nations. He styled himself the orator of the human race, and desired to be admitted to the federation, which was agreed to. On the 22d of January, 1792, he wrote a letter to the legislative assembly, beginning thus: "The orator of the human race to the legislature of the human race, sends greeting." On the 21st of April he again delivered a speech at the bar, relative to the declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia; proposed to the assembly to adhere for a year to a strict regimen, and ended by offering a patriotic gift of twelve thousand livres; he obtained the honour of a seat among the members. On the 12th of

rending spectacles. Persons of all ranks were crowded together, and those who happened to

August, he came to congratulate the assembly on the events of the 10th, and offered to levy a Prussian legion. In his speech he called the king of Prussia the Sardanapalus of the North, and spoke abusively of the empress of Russia and the queen of France. On the 27th he begged the assembly to set a price on the heads of the king of Prussia and the duke of Brunswick; highly praised the action of Brutus Anckarstrom, the assassin of the king of Sweden, and, thanking the French people for the honour which they had done him in receiving him into their bosom, pronounced a long discourse, in which the following phrases were remarked: "Charles IX. had a successor, Louis will have none." "You know how to value the heads of philosophers; a price yet remains to be set on those of tyrants." "My heart is French, and my soul sans-culottes." His hatred against the Christian religion was as fervent as that he had conceived against the monarchy; he declared himself "the personal enemy of Jesus Christ." In September, 1792, he was deputed from Oise to the convention, where he voted for the death of Louis XVI. in the name of the human race, and added, "No less do I condemn to death the infamous Frederic William." In 1792 he published a little work, entitled, "the Universal Republic." He there laid it down as a principle, "that the people was the sovereign of the world, nay, that it was God;" that "France was the cradle and rallying point of the people, God;" that "fools alone believed in a Supreme Being," &c. &c. He also presented to the convention a new attack on Christianity, under the title of, Certainty of the Proofs of Mahometanism; and proposed the erection of a statue to the philo-

have money or friends to supply them with necessities, were deprived of the one and for-

sophical curate Jean Meslier, who had been burnt as a sorcerer. He fell under the suspicions of Robespierre, was arrested as a Hébertist, and condemned to death on the 24th of March, 1794. He died with dreadful hardihood, and on his way to execution lectured Hébert on materialism, "to prevent him from yielding to religious feelings in his last moments." He even asked to be executed after all his accomplices, "in order to have time to establish certain principles during the fall of their heads."

J. R. Hébert, born at Alençon, was naturally of an active disposition, and an ardent imagination, but without abilities, and especially without information: he lived at Paris, before the revolution, by intrigue and imposture. Being employed at the theatre of the Variétés as receiver of the checks, he was dismissed for dishonesty, and retired to the house of a physician, whom he robbed. In 1789 he embraced with ardour the popular party, which offered him a resource at a time when he no longer knew how to exist. He soon made himself known by a journal entitled *Father Duchêne*, which had the greatest success among the people, on account of the violence of the principles which the author displayed in it, and especially the true tone of the populace in which he expressed them; in it the flattest and most disgusting abuse of the court and the monarchy was always seasoned with oaths or coarse terms, which enchanted and elevated the multitude. On the 10th of August, 1792, he became one of the members of that municipality which created and appointed itself to organize the insurrection of that day, and he afterwards, in September, contributed to the prison massacre, especially to the assassination of madame de Lamballe. *His eloquence and repub-*

bidden to be seen by the other. In miserable beds, enclosed by bare walls, two persons were

licanism soon caused him to be appointed deputy to the agent of the commune; and it was then that, connecting himself with Chaumette and Pache, he assisted them to the utmost of his ability in the execution of the scheme formed by the leaders of that commune, for raising their power on the wrecks of the system of national representation. Intoxicated with its success, this faction soon knew no bounds; it was constantly threatening the convention, making the capital tremble, organizing the festivals of reason, preaching atheism, (what can be so ridiculous, says Prudhomme, as to see men so ignorant as Chaumette, and especially Hébert, at the head of a faction of atheists?) repulsing with contempt the Orleanists, who had long had it in pay, and at last venturing to separate from the Cordeliers, of whom it had till then formed a part. The Girondins at this period were still struggling against the Mountain, and had sufficient credit to procure, on the 24th of May, 1793, the arrest of Hébert, who, without the consent of the Dantonist Cordeliers, but involuntarily urged on by Robespierre, and thinking to serve only the commune, was demanding the proscription of the chiefs of the Gironde. The general council immediately declared itself permanent, till Hébert should be restored to it; Marat defended him in the convention; on the 25th, deputies from all the sections spoke forcibly in his favour at the bar; and on the 27th, after a tumultuous session, he recovered his liberty. The spirit of revenge prevented him from remaining idle on the 31st of May, and the 1st and 2d of June. On the 31st of May he appeared at the town-hall, where he refused a crown which was offered to him, and caused a proclamation to be issued,

compelled to sleep; a single meal each day was served of the coarsest kind, and if all this did not

disavowing the project attributed to the authorities of Paris, of wanting to usurp dictatorial power; afterwards, on occasion of a violent proposal made by a member, he caused whoever should propose to shed blood, to be declared a bad citizen. Hébert then reached the short term of his greatest popularity. He promoted, by turns, with base fury, the execution of Brissot, Chabot, Fabre, and Camille Desmoulins. He ruled in the Cordelier club with Ronsin, where, on the 4th of March, 1794, he violently accused the Dantonists and the Moderatists; caused the Statue of Liberty and the Rights of Man to be veiled, and loudly preached insurrection; but this new triumph of the commune became the cause of its ruin. The two rivals, Danton and Robespierre, began equally to dread it, and to perceive that, under pretence of alternately serving one party of the convention against another, it tended to undermine the whole; they then joined, in spite of their hatred, and most of the Hébertists were arrested and condemned to death on the 24th of March, 1794. Hébert, who was condemned as "being concerned in a conspiracy which aimed at the massacre of the convention, and the restoration of a tyrant, under the name of a grand judge," died with the greatest marks of weakness, and fainted several times before he came to the scaffold. It is worthy of remark, that he occupied the same dungeon in the Conciergerie which was afterwards appropriated to Danton, Chaumette, and finally to Robespierre. "The factious wretch," says Prudhomme, "humiliated by the articles of accusation brought against him, consisting chiefly of thefts of shirts and other effects, several times swooned away in his prison." On all sides he

bring on sickness and death, the guillotine was resorted to. The mortality, however, in the prisons was so great, as to induce an opinion that poison had been employed; and indeed so little account was made of the most afflicting occurrences at this period, that on being told that pregnant women had died in prison for want of the proper assistance, Billaud de Varennes said, with the greatest unconcern, " 'Tis so much trouble saved to the executioner." The life, indeed, of every person was now at the control of the tyrants; and the captives were led out to the scaffold daily, as they chose to direct. Sometimes in the dead of night the prisoners were summoned to the court-yard, and selected by torch-light for the next day's slaughter; these measures were often pursued in connexion with the most barbarous jocularities. Seizing a female for execution they would cry, " Let us send this

was reviled horribly, " Father Duchène is very uneasy, and will be very angry when Sampson makes him tipsy." At the foot even of the scaffold he heard these phrases called from his journal. A young man, whose family he had destroyed, cried out to him, " To-day is the great anger of Father Duchène. We must see how angry he is with those false patriots who are going to play at hot-cockles, look through the little window, and sneeze in the bag." A volume might be composed of the crimes that Hébert committed, but the horrible charge which he invented against the queen is a sufficient evidence of his detestable baseness.

woman to her beloved spouse." At the top of one act of accusation was written, "A head to be chopped off without mercy;" and if the identical person could not be immediately found, they would say to the nearest in name or relation, "Come, you shall supply his place; it will be just the same, for it must be your turn sooner or later." I saw, says one (Riouffe), fourteen young ladies from Verdun, of the greatest modesty, like virgins decorated for an hymeneal feast, led out together to the scaffold, for having danced at a ball given by Prussian officers. Twenty women also from Poitou, mostly poor peasants, were assassinated together. "I see them still," says he, "stretched in the court of the Conciergerie, overwhelmed with the fatigues of a long journey, and sleeping on the pavement. Their looks, expressive of no intelligence of the fate which awaited them, were like those of oxen heaped up together in markets, who gaze steadily and stupidly about them. At the moment of conducting them to the scaffold, they snatched from the breast of one of those unfortunate persons, a child which she was nourishing, regardless of the mother's piercing cries; and although several women died in the cart, yet they guillotined the bodies. It would be impossible to describe the miseries which were endured, or the numbers of the victims, which, by the ferocity of the tyrants was so increased, that although sixty or

eighty were daily destroyed, so many notwithstanding remained, that it was even proposed to shoot them in detachments of two thousand at once.

By these sanguinary measures, vast numbers of those who had taken a conspicuous part in public affairs during the early periods of the revolution, both for and against the royal cause, and who had till now outlived the sanguinary storm, were destroyed. In the beginning of May, the sufferings of Madame Elizabeth terminated on the scaffold *. Danton †

* Vide Authentic Memoirs, page 332.

† J. G. Danton, an advocate to the council, was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, on the 26th of October, 1759, and beheaded the 5th of April, 1794. His height was colossal, his make athletic, his features strongly marked, coarse and displeasing; his voice shook the domes of the halls, his elocution was vehement and his images gigantic. These qualities contributed to give him influence in the districts towards the beginning of the revolution; and he ever tenaciously adhered to his original intention, which was the same with Robespierre's, to obtain the dictatorship. He was successively the friend of Mirabeau, of Marat, and of Robespierre, whose victim he became. In 1790, he called on the national assembly, in the name of the forty-eight sections of Paris, to require Louis XVI. to give up his ministers, who had lost the confidence of the nation. In February, 1791, he was elected member for the department of Paris. After the arrest of Louis XVI. at Varennes, he presided at the meeting in the field of Mars, when the king's deposition was demanded. In consequence of this he was forced to remain some time concealed; but he re-appeared with more boldness than

when accused, defended himself in a speech which had these words : “ People, form your judgment

ever. He proposed to the Jacobins to compel the payment of the national debt by the wealthier part of the community, and in case of their refusal, to take the same steps against them as against the nobles and the priests. An attempt was made to arrest him in the meetings of July, of which he was appointed elector, but Damiens, the officer charged with the execution of this order, was himself arrested as a violator of the *majesty* of the people. In November, Danton was appointed deputy-attorney for the commune of Paris. His power in the metropolis increased greatly; in 1792 he was one of those who organized the events of June the 20th, and prepared those of August the 10th, by appearing on the 8th at the bar of the assembly, to declare that if the king's deposition were not decreed, the section of Cordeliers would rise and trample on the government. Louis XVI. having been removed from the throne on the 10th, Danton became a member of the provisional executive council, obtained the appointment of administrator of justice, and usurped the nomination of agents to the army, and to the departments, which gave him opportunities of engaging many in his interests. Gold poured on the minister from all sides, and by him was abundantly distributed to reward atrocities and purchase adherents. Prudhomme gives the following account of his elevation to the ministry: “ On the 11th of August, at three o'clock in the morning, Fabre and Camille Desmoulins went to his bed-side, to inform him that he was the administrator of justice; ‘ this is not all,’ added Fabre, ‘ you must make me keeper of the seal:’ ‘ and me,’ said Camille, ‘ one of your secretaries.’ ‘ But, replied Danton, who was but half awake, ‘ are you quite sure that I am ap-

of me when you have heard me; what I say ought to be heard, not only by you, but by all

pointed minister?' 'Yes,' answered the two candidates, 'and we will not leave you without the promise of these two places.' 'Very well,' said Danton, 'be it so;' and all was arranged according to the desire of the two patriots." No sooner was he admitted into the ministry, than he caused the gates of Paris to be shut, and declared against domiciliary searches, and the sending of armed men to the frontiers. He explained to the legislative body the necessity of producing a sensation in the heart of Paris, and through Paris in the departments, in favour of the revolution, which had been recently brought about, and he powerfully contributed to all the measures tending to this effect. Mercier, in his new picture of Paris, accuses Danton of having prepared the massacres of September, and Prudhomme devotes twenty pages of his History of Crimes to conversations and papers, which prove with what frightful unconcern he arranged every thing for those horrible days. Danton made use of proscriptions to destroy, by means of terror, all idea of resistance among the royalists; and himself, a strange mixture of indolence and energy, displayed, in the very midst of these assassinations, the most lofty spirit, the most undaunted bravery. On the 3d of September the entrance of the Prussians into Champagne spread consternation through the metropolis, and disturbed the members of the government. All the ministers, the distinguished deputies, and Robespierre himself, who was then apprehensive of Brissot, assembled at the house of Danton, who alone retaining his courage, seized in some sort all power, dictated the measures of defence which were then taken, and prevented the assembly from removing to the other side of the Loire. At this

France ; before six months are past, you will tear in pieces those who now sit in judgment on me,

time began that inveterate hatred which Robespierre nourished against him, who never forgave the ascendancy Danton had then exercised, and cunning at last triumphed over hardihood. Danton was no less generally accused of the massacres at Versailles than of those at Paris. Saint Just lodged an information against him with the committee of public safety, and he was arrested in the night of March the 31st, 1794, with those who were called his accomplices. When imprisoned in the Luxembourg, he affected a forced gaiety, and owned to Lacroix, that he had been forewarned of his arrest, but had not been able to credit it. "What," answered his colleague, "you were forewarned, and yet suffered yourself to be taken ; your indolence and self-indulgence have indeed ruined you ! how often have you been cautioned against this event !" On his removal to the Conciergerie, his air became gloomy and ferocious, he appeared more particularly humiliated at having been the dupe of Robespierre, and all he said shewed a strange mixture of repentance and pride. At the time of his examination he answered with calmness, "I am Danton, well known in the revolution ; my home will shortly be annihilation, but my name will live in the Pantheon of history." The decree which excluded him from the debates, transported him with unspeakable rage ; he was like a roaring lion, the names alone of Saint Just, of Robespierre, of Billaud, whom he called infamous tyrants, passed his lips. On his return to the Conciergerie he exclaimed, "It is the anniversary of the day on which I caused the institution of the revolutionary tribunal, for which I implore pardon of God and men !! I leave every thing in dreadful confusion : there is not one among them who un-

as well as the scoundrels by whose orders I am brought to trial. They have reduced you to slavery, and are now daily sacrificing you." Sentence was pronounced against Chabot *,

derstands any thing of government. After all, they are such brethren as Cain; Brissot would have had me guillotined even as Robespierre has me guillotined." When somewhat recovered from his first paroxysms, he ascended the fatal cart with resolution and without resistance: his head was raised, and his looks bespoke pride; he appeared to command the crowd who surrounded him at the foot of the scaffold. One thought, one feeling turned towards his family, and affected him a moment. "Oh, my wife, my best beloved," cried he, "I shall see thee no more!" Suddenly breaking short, however, he exclaimed, "Danton, no weakness!" and immediately ascended the scaffold. Though poor and greatly involved before the revolution, at the time of his death he left a considerable fortune, great part of which had been acquired during his embassy to Holland.

* F. Chabot, a capuchin, who was born at St. Geniez-Dol, in the department of Aveyron, eagerly profited by the opportunity of breaking his vows, which the decrees of the constituent assembly offered him. His ardent patriotism gained him the place of grand vicar to the abbé Grégoire, constitutional bishop of Blois. In September, 1792, he was appointed deputy of Loir et Cher to the legislature, and was always observed to act with Bazire, Albitte, Lecointre, Puyravaux, &c. After the example of one of his colleagues whom he had often denounced (the abbé Fauchet), he made the following dreadfully profane assertion on the 7th of September, "that the citizen Jesus Christ was the first sans-culotte in the world!" On the 13th he proposed that the con-

Danton, and his whole party, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and at six they were all carried to the scaffold.

vention should take into consideration a new law concerning emigrants, and that it should be so simple "that a child might send an emigrant to the guillotine." In October he informed the Jacobins, that though a priest and a capuchin, he was going to marry, and he declared at the same time that he possessed only a capital of six thousand livres. On the 10th of November he pointed out the divisions which were beginning to arise among the Jacobins, predicted to Danton, Robespierre, and Billaud, that they would be sacrificed by turns to the system of calumny, earnestly insisted that a deputy should not be arrested without being heard, and displeased the Jacobins by saying, that if there were not a *right side* in the assembly, he would form one himself alone. Several days after, he was accused of having brought to his wife in marriage a sum of seven hundred thousand livres. He had married an Austrian woman, named Leopoldina Frey. On the 12th of November, in concert with Bazire, he denounced Delaunay d'Angers and Julien de Toulouse to the government committee, as authors of a new conspiracy, and deposited one hundred thousand livres in assignats, which he pretended to have received from them. A warrant for his arrest was issued on the 10th of the same month, and he was shut up in the Luxembourg as the accomplice of this very Julian, and of Delaunay, and as a partisan of the Dantonist faction. During his confinement he kept up a correspondence with Robespierre, whose servile tool he had ever been, and one day wrote to him thus: "Robespierre, thou who lovest patriots, deign to remember that thou hast reckoned me among them, that I have always

Among the victims of this period may also be reckoned Chaumette, and Camille Desmoulins*.

walked behind thee in the right road : abandon me not to the rage of my enemies, who are likewise thine ; above all, do not forget that I am languishing in confinement for having punctually followed thy orders. In consequence of thy advice I judged it expedient to keep back some facts in my declaration." Notwithstanding these humble supplications, he could not obtain his pardon, and was involved in the ruin of those whom he had been made to denounce. When he knew what his fate was to be, he poisoned himself with corrosive sublimate of mercury ; but the dreadful pain he suffered having extorted shrieks from him, he was conveyed to the infirmary, and his life prolonged till the 5th of April, 1794, on which day he was guillotined.

* P. G. Chaumette, attorney of the commune of Paris, was born at Nevers on the 24th of May, 1763 ; his father was a shoe-maker. After having been a cabin-boy, a steersman, a transcriber, and an attorney's clerk at Paris, he worked under the journalist Prudhomme, who describes him as a very ignorant man, and afterwards enrolled himself in the demagogue troop, which Camille Desmoulins formed at the time of the taking of the Bastile, to harangue the people in the public squares ; he soon quitted his chief in order to revolutionize on his own account, and became a member of the municipality of the 10th of August, 1794, which appointed itself, and gave the last blow to monarchy. In September he became attorney of this commune, and, on the day of his appointment, he declared, that " formerly he was called Pierre-Gaspard, because his god-father believed in the saints ; but that, as for him, who did not believe in them, he renounced those names to take that of Anaxagoras,

Whilst Robespierre thus glutted his inhuman thirst for blood, he thought it prudent at the same

a saint who had been hanged for his republicanism." He then attached to himself a number of wretches, most part of them foreigners, and soon acquired immense power in the capital. On the 9th of March, 1793, he proposed the formation of a revolutionary tribunal without appeal, and a tax on the rich. It was at the same time that, intoxicated with his power, he assisted at the festivals of Reason, of the orgies and profanations which polluted all the churches in the capital, and of those ridiculous processions, in which he caused the holy things to be burnt, and by which he meant, he said, "to destroy the morality of the nation." Speaking of the national festivals, he said, that "the people ought to be the god of them, and that there was no other." All the acts of despotism and cruelty which he permitted himself at that time, approach to madness: it may suffice to mention a few of them. He proposed to assemble all the men capable of military service, who refused to march, and to drive nails into them; he caused funeral honours to be decreed to the Pole, Lazowski, who massacred the prisoners of Orleans; he desired that a moving guillotine, mounted on four wheels, should follow the revolutionary army, "to shed blood in profusion;" he sent to Louis XVI., in the Temple, an engraving representing the execution of an earl of Flanders, and to the Dauphin a little guillotine; he stirred up the commune to demand the trial of the queen; and lastly, he concerted with Hébert, the atrocious deposition which the latter made against that unhappy princess. Though an inveterate denunciator of priests and rich men, he opposed, as anarchical, a petition of Jacques Roux, against merchants, and accused him of giving the signal for

time to make an attempt at popularity by the overthrow of atheism; having first accomplished

the violation of property. He proposed the suppression of flogging in schools, the cessation of public worship, and the equality of funerals; procured an order for the demolition of the monuments of religion and royalty, which occasioned the destruction of a number of master-pieces of the arts; and introduced, as belonging to the *sans-culottes'* system, the fashion of wearing wooden shoes. In the mean time the commune, which was grown too powerful, threatened to overturn the Mountain of the convention, of which it had at first been only the auxiliary. Chaumette even proposed to unite in a single council the chiefs of the forty-eight sections, which would have at least paralysed the legislative body. Robespierre and his agents thought it time to crush this rival faction, and the Hébertists were sent to the scaffold, on the 24th of March, 1794. Chaumette, strong in his popularity, escaped this attack, and survived, to use that expression, his party, which had been disguised under another name, that its ruin might be more surely accomplished; but he must have foreseen from that time, that the fall of all his friends would soon involve his own. Indeed, it was not long before he was confined in the Luxembourg, "where he appeared," says the author of the *Picture of the Prisons of Paris*, "oppressed with shame, like a fox taken in a net: he hung his head, his eye was mournful and cast down, his countenance sad and melancholy, his voice soft and supplicating. He was no longer the terrible attorney of the commune," &c. In the prison he found a considerable number of persons whom he had caused to be conveyed thither, and who covered him with reproaches and insults of every kind. One of them, with a dreadful foreboding, thus

the destruction of the Cordeliers, by whom its impious dogmas had been fostered. Accordingly

greeted him : " I am suspected, thou art suspected, he is suspected." He was executed on the 13th of April, 1794, twenty days after Hébert.

B. Camille Desmoulins was a lawyer, born at Guise, in Picardy, in 1762; he was a son of the lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Guise. The chapter of Laen appointed him purser to the college of Louis-le-Grand, where he was educated with Robespierre and several other young men, who afterwards made a figure in the revolution with him. His appearance was vulgar, his complexion swarthy, and his looks forbidding. He made his first appearance at the bar to plead against his own father, whom he wanted to compel to make him an allowance greater than his means would permit; and he never forgave him for having one day told him he would come to the scaffold. In the very beginning of the revolution he formed an intimate connexion with his old friend, Robespierre, and at the same time also had midnight conferences with the duke of Orleans at Mousseaux, which, joined to all the other circumstances of his conduct, afford reason to conclude, that he was at first only that prince's agent. Prudhomme even asserts, that he was for a short time flattered by a hope of marrying Pamela, the reputed pupil of Madame de Genlis; and that Lafayette invited him several times to dinner, and even gave him his bust. Be that as it may, he originally chose the Palais Royal as the most usual theatre of his civic vocation. He was constantly there, surrounded by a crowd of orators, who with him prepared for the taking of the Bastile. On the 12th of July, 1789 (two days previous to that event), he harangued a large mob which had collected in the gardens,

he presented a report to the convention in favour of the acknowledgment of a Deity, ordaining a

with a brace of pistols in his hands: from time to time he exclaimed with great vehemence, "to arms, to arms;" he ended by proposing to take a cockade as a mark of distinction, and a green one was adopted, which was soon superseded by a tri-coloured one, because green was the count d'Artois' colour. After this first success he continued the office he had undertaken of heating the public mind at times by speeches, at others by writings, and he assumed the appellation of attorney-general of the lamp-post. This name brought to mind the first popular executions which had succeeded the taking of the Bastile. He published also at the same time the *Revolutions of France and of Brabant*; a journal in which the principles of Jacobinism were preached up with the vehemence which characterized the author. His writings became a subject of violent disputes among the Jacobins, and among the Cordeliers; the Hébertists inveighed against him. These attacks deprived him of his influence in the two patriotic societies; in the former he called to his support the testimony of Robespierre, asserting, that he had submitted the numbers of *Old Cordelier* to him before publication; but Robespierre eluded the appeal, and proposed to retain Camillus in the society, and to burn his journal: "To burn is not to answer," cried Desmoulins eagerly. At last all hope of reconciliation between Danton and Robespierre being lost, St. Just, whom Camillus had also rallied in his journal, and of whom he had said, that he carried his head like the holy sacrament, then kept the promise he had given, to make him carry his otherwise, and presented a report, in consequence of which Camillus was arrested in the night of the 31st of May, 1794,

stated festival to his honour. The first of these was observed on the 8th of June, and it was conducted by this murderer himself, who expected, no doubt, by this means to confirm his standing, with which view he procured himself the post of president in the convention. This hypocritical ceremony succeeded so far as to procure for this barbarian a complete triumph, in which he was

with those who were called his accomplices. During his imprisonment he gave himself up alternately to transports of rage, and to a deep and gloomy despair. On the first of April he was examined by the commissioners of the revolutionary tribunal; and when he was asked how old he was, he thus blasphemously replied, "As old as the sans-culotte Jesus Christ was when he died!" that is, thirty-three, an age fatal to the revolutionary chiefs. On the 4th he was brought before the tribunal to be tried, and defended himself with tolerable calmness: but when he was ordered to retire and leave the judges to deliberate, he fell into a fury, and loaded them with curses. Force alone could convey him back to his prison, where, in the most violent agitation, he awaited the decision of the jury, which condemned him to death, as "having abused the revolutionary system, and wished to restore monarchy." On the 5th he was led, not without difficulty, to execution; he made the most violent efforts to avoid getting into the cart. His shirt was in tatters, and his shoulders bare; his eyes glared, his mouth foamed at the moment when he was bound, and on seeing the scaffold he cried out, "This then is the reward reserved for the first apostle of liberty! The monsters who assassinate me will not survive me long."

blasphemously compared to the Messiah, and saluted by the performance of a Te Deum, ending *Vive Robespierre!—Vive la Republique!*

The disgusting scenes of this period are not, however, to be charged on France as a nation; they should rather be looked on as sufferings endured than as crimes committed; for it is certain that however large the number of persons might be who had been either enticed or compelled into union with them, a great part of France trembled under the scourge, which sanguinary factions had exhibited, and against which not a few were determined to rebel.

The convention having issued the decree, that the whole country which still maintained resistance and opposition to their control should be desolated; that the whole inhabitants should be exterminated without distinction of age or sex, the habitations destroyed by fire, and even the trees cut down, so that not a vestige might remain of any human abode, six armies, amounting in all to more than two hundred thousand men, had been deputed for its execution, with a particular direction to the south. But although in a smaller concern, probably, the bare mention of such impending misery might have sufficed to intimidate an undisciplined assemblage of persons like that which formed the forces of the royalists in La Vendee, they were on the present momentous occasion but the more confirmed in their devoted-

ness by the extremities to which they were reduced; old men, lads, women, and even children were in their ranks, and many individual acts of calm heroism were to be found opposed to the heated zeal of the drunken soldiery, several of which are recorded by the interesting and devoted Marchioness de Laroche-Jacqueline*. The repub-

* Le comte de Laroche-Jacquelein, a gentleman of Poitou, was one of the generals of the royalists in the Vendée. This young man, only twenty-one years of age, was one of their most distinguished chiefs. He lived at St. Aubin de Beaubigné, near Châtillon, at the time of the revolution. In 1792 the Jacobins confined him in the prisons of Bressuire, whence he was delivered by Stofflet; he then joined the Vendéans, who were beginning to form themselves into a regular body, became a member of the military council, and one of the under-commanders of the army of Anjou, headed by Benchamp. In April, 1793, he defeated the republicans at Martigné with his division, and assisted in gaining the battle of Saumur, which lasted thirty-six hours, and cost the republic nearly twenty-three thousand men, who were either killed or taken, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and fifty thousand weight of powder. After this defeat, Laroche-Jacquelein pursued the commander-in-chief, Menou, three leagues, and wounded him with a pistol-shot. In July he marched to the assistance of Lescure, and drove Westermann from Châtillon. On the 11th of September, he, with his division, again attacked the heights of Martigné, then occupied by Rossignol. The republicans resisted some time; but the young commander having, as usual, himself charged at the head of his cavalry, routed them in an instant, and the massacre became

lican general Westermann was beat out of Chatillon and pursued to some distance; but finding that his

dreadful, when his troops, who adored him, perceived that he was wounded. The next day, being re-inforced by a new body of men, he attacked a second camp which the patriots had established at Brissac, and began to cannonade it: but seeing that this attack produced no effect, he ordered his infantry to support him, and rushed into the enemies' batteries with his cavalry: the rout of the republicans became complete, and all their baggage and artillery were taken. In October he again marched to the assistance of Lescure, retook Châtillon, and being repulsed afterwards by Westermann, he rejoined the great army under the walls of Mortagne. After the loss of the battle of Chollet, he became commander-in-chief of the royal army; contrived to make his troops pass very safely over the Loire; seized Candé, Château-Gonthier, and afterwards Laval, near which place he again defeated the republicans on the 26th of October; and on the 27th of November had another victory, which for a short time made amends for the check he had just met with under the walls of Granville. He again failed in an attack on Angers, and shortly afterwards endured a far more fatal reverse in the town of Mans, whither, after the most obstinate resistance, he was obliged to retire in disorder, after losing a considerable number of his men, and a great part of his baggage and artillery. After having effected his retreat with these shattered remains, he went towards Ancenis, and passed the Loire on a raft, at the moment when Westermann's forces, which were pursuing him at full speed, appeared behind his terrified men, of whom but a small number landed with him on the opposite bank. He reached Upper Poitou, and in March,

pursuers had soon after withdrawn, he determined to attempt recovering the place by a coup de main. He mounted a hundred grenadiers behind a hundred picked hussars, and sent them at midnight into the city. The peasants, as was customary with them, had no out-posts, and being overcome with fatigue, were scattered about the streets. They, however, made a terrible resistance; one received twelve sabre wounds on the same spot, another, after killing a hussar, took the horse on which he had rode, and placing his wounded brother on it, sent him out of the city; he then returned to the combat, and killed another of the hussars, whose horse he took himself. Irritated by the resistance they experienced, the republicans butchered all that came across them; all order and discipline being lost in the darkness, they hacked and fired at each other, or wrestled and fell man to man as they chanced to meet, and often without being able to distinguish friend from foe. One of the royalist leaders was trampled under foot by a party of the republicans, who rushed past him as they went to massacre the whole family where he lodged, but who were zealous republicans. The town was set on fire in

1794, assembled a small army. Some time after, one of the most bloody combats that has ever stained the earth of the Vendée itself took place; he was defeated, and killed four days afterwards in a skirmish by a republican soldier whom he was pursuing.

fifty places, and was at last evacuated by both parties in mutual ignorance of the force to which they were opposed.

The last great battle was fought near Chollet, when the royalists, after a furious and sanguinary resistance, were at length borne down by the multitude of their opponents, and driven into the low country on the banks of the Loire. Here not only the wreck of the army, but a great proportion of the men, women, and children of the country, flying in consternation from the burnings and butchery of the republican army, flocked down in agony and despair to the banks of this great river: where, on an extended plain which skirts the water, near a hundred thousand unhappy persons were to be seen blackening over the dreary expanse, driven thither by the smoke of their burning villages and the roar of the republican cannon, in the precarious hope of escaping to the opposite shore, a hope which to many could not possibly be realized. The army, in three days, effected its passage over the Loire, and General Lechellé, who Barrère boasted should immediately complete its destruction, having still suffered some repulse, on being ordered to Paris, anticipated his fate by swallowing poison. The insurrection was finally subdued in the beginning of November. Carrier * was appointed the executioner of re-

* J. B. Carrier was an attorney, born at Yolay near Aurillac, in 1756. A bilious and choleric temperament, middling

publican vengeance, and he fulfilled the task with a dreadful eclat. In his dispatches to the conven-

information, and a fanatical enthusiasm, made him join the revolutionary party in Séide, in consequence of which he met death for having lived a long time in a horrible celebrity. In 1790 he dispersed in his department some incendiary pamphlets, for which he was prosecuted at the Châtelet. Being appointed deputy of Cantal to the national convention, he voted there for the death of Louis XVI., and appeared sometimes in the tribune, only to denounce aristocrats, and recommend measures of terror. On the 9th of March, 1793, he caused the creation of the revolutionary tribunal to be decreed; and on the 6th of April he urged the arrest of d'Orléans and de Sillery. He declared violently against the Girondins on the 31st of May, demanded that the deputies of the right side should be deprived of their indemnities, and denounced the administrators of Cantal and Gard as rebellious against the events of that day. After having been on a mission to Calvados, to disperse the assemblies which were forming there in favour of the Girondins, he was sent into the Vendée; and the day on which he arrived at Nantes (the 8th of October, 1793,) will never be effaced from the annals of that unhappy town. "We will make one burying place of all France," said he, "rather than not regenerate it in our own way." Not satisfied with every species of plunder, and with the slow movement of the guillotine, he wanted to destroy en masse. "How does this revolutionary committee work?" said he, at Nantes; "twenty-five thousand heads ought to fall, and I do not yet see one!" He had recourse to shooting, renewed and enlarged the idea of Nero, by having boats built which drowned a hundred persons at a time; and he was the inventor of those horrible republican marriages,

tion he boasted of having destroyed five hundred Frenchmen in a day, and of burying four thousand

the manner of which was this : a man and woman were tied together face to face, and then thrown into the sea. He caused three young women, whose persons he had just violated, to be drowned thus. This monster cried out in the popular societies, " People, take your club, crush the rich, exterminate the merchants, you are in rags, and abundance is near you ! Is not the river there ? If the people do not destroy, I shall be able to make the heads fall on the national scaffold." Madame Lenormand, his mistress, who employed several women for the armies, having asked him who would pay them, he answered, " The guillotine." Another day he cried out at table, " In my department we used to go and hunt the priests ; I never laughed so much as at seeing the grimace that they made in dying." His mission ended in the beginning of 1794, and Carrier returned to the convention, which had several times applauded his correspondence. He there gave details of his operations, expressed his surprise at the scandalous debate which had taken place concerning the Vendée ; bestowed high praises on generals Ronsin, Rosignol, and Santerre, and accused Philippeaux. He opposed the granting indemnities to the inhabitants of the Vendée ; proposed, at the club of the Cordeliers, an insurrection against the men denounced by Hébert ; and, at the Jacobin club, spoke against the persons who seceded from the two societies. On the 17th of May he accused the merchants of Nantes of being accomplices with the robbers, and designated the mayor, Baco, as having threatened several representatives with the scaffold. A short time afterwards, he denounced the indulgence of the tribunal of Cantal to the conspirators ; caused an order to be

in a single pit. The convention applauding the ferocious narrative, and enjoying as an admirable

given for the revision of its sentences, and demanded that the tribunals should be composed of *sans-culottes*. He caused the revolutionary tribunal to be organized for the second time, at the period of the famous law of the 12th of June. On the 27th of July, 1794, he joined those who attacked Robespierre, and accused Julien the younger of being an accomplice of the dictator; he soon after found himself carried away with the Jacobins in the division which separated them from the Thermidorians, and from that time he hastened to his ruin, by accusing Tallien to the Jacobins of being chief of a new party; he there exhorted them to call forth their energy, and to banish the aristocrats, and demanded that the society and the tribunes should go together to the convention to denounce the new system. Then the Thermidorians crushed him with the enormity of his conduct, which had till then been forgotten; and Merlin de Thionville, Laignelot, Carnot, and Duquesnoy accused him successively. He declared to the convention, at the meeting of the 23d of November, 1794, that by trying him it ruined itself, and that if all the crimes committed in its name were to be punished, "not even the little bell of the president was free from guilt;" and he asserted, that the cruelties of the Vendéans had rendered necessary the excesses committed against them. When he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, his defence was not more successful there than at the convention. The members of the committee of Nantes, who were brought to trial with him, overwhelmed him with dreadful depositions which make one shudder with horror. He was condemned to death on the 15th of December, 1794, convicted of having had children of thirteen and fourteen years

jest the description of the guillotine under the name of the national razor, and the little window, and the noyade (a barge with a false bottom for drowning numbers at once) under that of the bath and of drinking in the great bowl.

But even these excesses were not equal to those by which the commanders of troops of the revolutionary army scattered terror and devastation around. Their savage atrocities combined the extremes of rapacity and cruelty, with the most brutal acts of passion ; by them whole generations were swept away in savage sport ; the aged ancestor, with the younger props of his years, his children and his children's children, lay in one general heap. Women even in pregnancy, and infants at the breast, were involved in the dreadful destruction, while the disgusting violations which accompanied these bloody deeds were such as cannot even be repeated. Multitudes of persons and of priests were put on board boats and barges under pretence of transportation, but really for the purpose of being drowned ; ignorant of their unexpected fate, they cried for help to their executioners, but instead of this they were derided with ferocious mirth, and if any attempted to escape, old shot, and of having ordered drownings, and this with counter-revolutionary intentions. Doubtless this motive is singular enough to deserve mentioning. He went to his death with a dreadful daring, and said, " I die a victim and innocent, I have only executed the orders of the committees."

they were dispatched with swords, poles, or pikes*.

* When the leaders of the revolutionary tribunal were arraigned, the following were some of the facts stated in evidence:—

George Thomas, a witness, deposed, that having received an order to visit one of the prisons to certify as to the pregnancy of a number of women, he found on entering the place a great number of dead bodies strewed on the floor. "As I hurried along this scene of horror," said he, "my terrified aspect frightened the women; they had been accustomed to see none but their butchers! I encouraged them, and addressed them in the language of humanity; I found that thirty of them were pregnant, some in the seventh or eighth month. A few days after, I went again to see those unhappy creatures whose situation rendered them objects of tenderness, but," added he with a faltering voice, "shall I tell you—they were *all murdered*! The farther I advanced," continued the witness, "the more was my heart appalled; there were *eight hundred women and as many children* in that one prison, and there were neither beds, straw, nor necessary vessels—the prisoners were in want of every thing. Dr. Rollin and myself saw five children expire within four minutes. I accuse," continued he, "the committee in general of the murder of seven prisoners, whom from want of time to examine them, they had hewn down with sabres, under the window of their hall. "Carriere," said he, "the representative, as well as the committee and their assistants, turned the drownings into jest, calling them immersions, national baptisms, bathings, &c."

Debourges, another witness, said, "I have seen nothing but drownings, guillotining, and shootings. Being once on

One Penard, a member of the revolutionary committee, at the head of a troop of negroes and

guard, I commanded a detachment that conducted the fourth *en masse* of women to be shot at Gigan. When I arrived, I found the dead bodies of seventy-five women already stretched on the spot—they were entirely without clothing: I was informed that they were girls from fifteen to eighteen years of age. When they had the misfortune not to fall dead after the shot, they were dispatched with sabres."

Labenette, another witness, said, "I have been an eye-witness of several drownings of men, women with child, girls, boys, and infants indiscriminately: I have also seen persons of all those descriptions shot in the public squares. I was physician to one of the prisons, and was about to be displaced because I was too humane."

The widow Dumeq stated herself to be the widow of the late keeper of the prison Entrepot: she said "she had seen fifty priests brought there, robbed of all their effects, and drowned with some women and little children. A child of fourteen years old was tied with others to be drowned; his cries for his father would have pierced the heart of a tiger; Lambertye, notwithstanding, tied him, and drowned him with the rest."

Another witness, Bourdin, giving an account of the shootings he had seen, said "the last I saw was of eighty-eight women; they were shot, stripped, and afterwards exposed for three days. When the shootings *en masse* first began, the prisoners retained their clothes until they were dead; the old clothes-dealers followed them whilst going to execution, bargaining on the way with the soldiers for their garments, but they discovered that the clothes being shot through, and often clotted with blood, decreased their value;

mulattoes, even boasted of the delight he took in destroying women and children, and the deputies and other agents of the convention, were equally sanguinary in their conduct towards that sex which seldom fails of finding protection, except where this strong evidence of hopeless depravity is found to announce that nature has been bereft of her earliest sympathies. All that has been heard of in the horrors of countries abandoned to the plunder of foreign armies was here endured by the unhappy Vendéans from their own countrymen, who with unnatural vengeance mingled the violation of chastity with the murder of its victims. In one day fourscore women were shot, and their bodies exposed for three days entirely naked; another day saw five hundred children of both sexes, the eldest not exceeding fourteen years, given up to slaughter. The deputies justified this dreadful carnage of unoffending innocence by calling them young wolves and vipers, whom it was necessary to crush. The Loire is said to have been actually discoloured with blood in a course of several miles, and whole weeks were consumed in burying the dead, for the furies seemed to have taken possession of the republicans so entirely, that nothing short of the utter desolation and depopulation of this whole

the soldiers, therefore, afterwards stripped their prisoners naked before their execution."

country could satisfy them, some idea of which may be formed from the total of lives sacrificed, estimated, in publications of that day, at nine hundred thousand, fifteen thousand of whom were women, and twenty-two thousand children.

The city of Lyons for a long time maintained itself vigorously against the republicans, but was eventually overpowered, and a decree was actually passed by the convention for razing all the buildings, except the abodes of the poor, of murdered patriots, houses of industry, and of public instruction, and for erecting a column on its scite with this inscription: " Lyons warred against liberty—Lyons is no more." Collot d'Herbois *,

* This ruffian J. M. Collot d'Herbois at first appeared on the stage, but had little success. He played at Geneva, at the Hague, and at Lyons, where having been often hissed, he vowed the most cruel hatred to that town. On the 1st of November he took his leave of the convention before his departure for Lyons, and protested that the South should soon be purified. It is from about the time of this mission that his horrible celebrity takes its date. Arriving in the town in the beginning of November, he hastened to announce to the convention the honours that he had caused to be paid to the ashes of Châlier, and swore to avenge him. In Bertrand de Moleville's history of the revolution, may be seen an account of the ridiculous festival that he caused to be celebrated in honour of that martyr to liberty. He desired the Jacobins of Paris to choose from among themselves some courageous sans-culottes, to expedite the punishment of the Lyonesse; sent for a column of the revolutionary army, and

Montant, and Fouché, were deputed by the Jacobins to accelerate these measures of cruelty, and

organized the demolitions, the shootings, and the mitrallades, in order to make up for the slowness of the guillotine. The victims, when about to be shot, were bound to a cord fixed to the trees of the Brotteaux, and a picket of infantry marched round the place, firing successively on the condemned. The mitrallades were executed in the same place: those who were destined for this punishment, were ranged two by two on the edge of the ditches that had been dug to receive their bodies, and cannons loaded with all sorts of small bits of metal were then fired upon them, after which some troops of the revolutionary army dispatched the wounded with sabres or bayonets. Two women and a young girl having solicited the pardon of their husbands and brothers, he had them bound on the scaffold where their relations expired, and their blood spouted out on them. On his return to Paris, Collot being denounced to the national convention by petitioners from Lyons, answered, that "the cannon had been fired but once on sixty of the most guilty, to destroy them with a single stroke." Then addressing himself to his colleagues: "Which of you," cried he, "would not have wished to hold the thunder-bolt to crush these traitors? Which of you would not have wished to give the scythe such a sweep as might mow them all down at once?" The assembly approved of his measures, and ordered that his speech should be printed. At last, on the 27th of December, 1794, on the report of Merlin de Douai, the convention decreed that there were grounds for examining into the conduct of Collot, &c., and into that of Saladin, and, on the 2d of March, 1795, ordered his provisional arrest. Collot demanded the discussion, point by

under their auspices a fete was performed to the memory of the republican martyr, the inhuman Châlier*, who had recently fallen. As part of

point, of the faults which were imputed to him, declared that all the arrests were made out in the office of general police, which was under the direction of St. Just; that he had not signed any of them, but had signed many liberations. Garnier de Saintes, Monestier, Thirion, and Fous-seduire, undertook his defence, and mentioned several facts in justification of his conduct. During the course of these debates broke out the Jacobinical insurrection of the 1st of April, 1795, and the convention hastened to decree the transportation of Collot d'Herbois to Guiana. Six weeks after, a new insurrection involved the convention in great dangers, and it repealed its first decree, and ordered that Collot and his accomplices should be tried by the criminal tribunal of Charente. But when the courier who carried this decree arrived, Collot was at sea, on his way to Cayenne. Scarcely had he arrived there when he endeavoured to stir up the blacks against the whites. He was then confined in the fort of Sinamary, and one day, tormented with a violent fever, he drank a bottle of brandy, which reduced him to the greatest extremity. At last, on the 8th of January, 1796, while he was carried in a litter to the hospital of Cayenne, he expired in dreadful torments, reproaching himself for his crimes.

* The monster M. J. Châlier, an extravagant Jacobin, an inhabitant of Lyons, was born in 1747, at Beautard, in Dauphiné, of a Piedmontese family, who returned to their native country, where he was educated. He embraced the ecclesiastical profession, was driven from his country, and after having narrowly escaped the gibbet in Portugal, and again in

this impious ceremony, an ass, covered with a priest's vestments, having on his head a mitre,

Naples, he came to Lyons, was received into the family of a merchant as a preceptor, said mass in that town for about two years, and at last went into business, in which he accumulated a considerable fortune by dishonesty and trick. He joined the revolutionary party with an enthusiasm bordering on madness. He went to Paris, spent six months with Marat to profit by his lessons, and on his return to Lyons caused his picture to be distributed among the populace, with this inscription: "Châlier, an excellent patriot, has passed six months at Paris, in admiring the Mountain and Marat." In 1792, he was appointed municipal officer, and all his colleagues were ready to second his fury. The mayor alone, Nivière-Chol, an upright and courageous man, sought to oppose their efforts. Twelve hundred citizens had been imprisoned. Châlier, despairing of their condemnation, appeared on the 6th of February, 1793, in the central society, with a poniard in his hand, and obtained a decree that a tribunal, similar to those at Paris which had committed the massacres of September, 1792, should be established on the quay St. Clair, with a guillotine, that nine hundred persons should there be executed, and their bodies thrown into the Rhône; and that in case executioners should be wanting, the members of the society should themselves perform this office. The mayor, at the head of the armed force, prevented this horrible execution; but he could not obtain the trial of several members who had been seized. Châlier, then president of the tribunal, saved them, and alternately deposed by the inhabitants, and restored by order of the convention, he ceased not to agitate this unhappy town, and to assassinate respectable persons by means of a

and the volumes of holy writ tied to his tail, was led through the streets; after which, the remains of Châlier were burned, and the ashes distributed to his admirers, whilst those of the books were scattered to the wind. In their task of destruction, the missionaries boasted to the convention of their inflexibility, and that they required the assistance of exploding mines and of flames to gratify their desires of extermination.

At Marseilles a similar plan was pursued by Barrère, Robespierre junior, Freron, and Salicetti, aided by the experience and unrelenting barbarity of Jourdan le Coupetête*.

revolutionary army, and to rob them by means of forced loans; till the people of Lyons, irritated by so many wrongs, raised the standard of war against the convention, and delivered their tyrant to a tribunal, which condemned him to death on the 17th of July, 1793. After the taking of the town by the republicans, the Jacobins carried Châlier's effigy in triumph through the streets, and the society at Paris had his ashes collected in a silver urn, and placed in the Pantheon, whence they were removed when moderation began to resume some influence.

* This man, M. Jouve Jourdan, was horribly famous under the title of Jourdan the beheader, he was born in 1749, at St. Just, near Puy, in the department of the Upper Loire. He was successively a butcher, a blacksmith's journeyman, a smuggler on the frontiers of Savoy, a soldier in the regiment of Auvergne, a servant in the stables of the marshal de Vaux, a wine merchant at Paris in 1787 and 8, under the name of Petit, a slayer in 1789, a seller of madder for dyeing, at

The efforts of the anti-christian party had been long employed in the pursuit of their favourite

Avignon, in 1790, general of the army of Vaucluse in 1791, and finally leader of a squadron of national gendarmerie. He began to make a figure in 1789 in the first massacres of the capital, and was particularly remarked on the 6th of October at Versailles, where he cut off the heads of Deshuttes and Varicourt, the king's guards. It was even remarked, that to prevent the blood which stained his beard (which he, during a considerable space of time, affected to wear very long), from being washed away by the rain, he kept it under his great coat. On his return to Paris he said publicly, "It was well worth while to make me go down there for two heads." He boasted also of having torn out the hearts of Foulon and Berthier, and called on the national assembly to reward him for this deed with a civic medal. He afterwards withdrew to the neighbourhood of Avignon, but that portion of the assembly which was desirous of uniting the country to France, recalled Jourdan to Paris, gave him instructions, intrusted him with considerable sums, and then sent him back to Avignon. The flame of discord, kindled by several members of the legislature, had already caused some disputes there, blood even had recently flowed, and the democratic party had already murdered the chiefs of the papal faction. Jourdan soon gave new energy to these massacres. The electoral body, which had seized all the power, had, under the name of the army of Vaucluse, organized a troop which was designed to fight with those who should oppose the union. This body, composed of deserters and smugglers, collected from every part of the South, ravaged the country, set fire to the houses, massacred even children and old men, in the environs of Serian, Mon-

object; and the base hope of extirpating from the nation every vestige of religion, induced them first

teux, &c. &c., and at last shot their commander-in-chief, Patrix, for having favoured the escape of some victims. Jourdan was worthy to head such a horde, and after the death of Patrix he was, in fact, chosen its master. As Carpentras harboured many of those who had voted against the union, the attack of that town was instantly decided on; but Jourdan, though provided with artillery, found himself under the necessity of raising the siege, after the loss of near five hundred men, among whom were two of his generals, Chabran and Peytavia. New murders, new oppressions, succeeded this disaster, which seemed to be the prelude to that day which completed all that can be conceived most horrible, the day of the Glacière. A body of the people of Avignon, exasperated by the want and miseries they were doomed to bear, having on the 16th of October, 1791, put to death Leseuyer, one of the agents of terror, and the secretary of the municipality, this crime served Jourdan as a signal for carnage, and the night as well as the following days were consecrated to taking vengeance for his worthy companion. The apostolic palace, known under the name of the Glacière, contained the arsenal, the prisons, the courts of justice, and the abode of the vice-legate. There the wretches, with bars of iron, beat to death sixty-one victims, among whom were thirteen women. In November, Jourdan was arrested, but in March, 1792, being pardoned, he then returned to Avignon more tremendous than ever, and destroyed almost all those who had ventured to depose against him. When Marseilles rose in revolt in March, 1793, he was again seized, and on the point of receiving the punishment due to his crimes; but the arrival of the

to attack those of the catholic clergy, who, having conformed to the new order of things, still remained in France: against these were directed many frivolous and vexatious decrees; and with the view of doing away for ever with the observance of the Sabbath, as well as with the feasts and fasts of the Roman church, a new calendar was prepared, by which the year was divided into twelve equal months of thirty days, and subdivided into decades or periods of ten days; each of these months had a new name, taken either from the occupations of husbandry or the produce usual in it, and every tenth day was ordained a festival in honour of some virtue, relation, or accident of life.

At Nevers, Fouché, who was there on a mission, issued a decree that all religious signs in streets,

conventional troops, headed by Carteaux, restored him to liberty. He then obtained the place of leader of a squadron of gendarmerie in the very town which he had drenched with blood; but the spirit of faction at last took on itself the charge of avenging the cause of humanity. In vain did Tallien undertake his defence in the tribune of the Jacobin society; the committee of public safety had him brought before the revolutionary tribunal, which condemned him to death on the 27th of May, 1794, as a federalist; as having squandered, for a paltry consideration and by terror usurped the national property; as having abused military authority, despised judicial and administrative power, and even the national representation itself.

squares, and public places, should be annihilated, and priests prohibited, on pain of imprisonment, from appearing any where, except in their places of worship, in their clerical dress. Every citizen deceased was, within forty-eight hours after his death, to be interred without ceremony, in a burial-place common to all persuasions; planted with trees, under the shade of which should be an image representing sleep, and on the door of the enclosure this inscription: "Death is an eternal sleep"!!!

This decree was highly approved at Paris, where similar measures were adopted; and every thing which could tend to vilify the peculiar doctrines of revelation was eagerly resorted to; a dreadful proof that even the external remembrancers of man's accountability were grown irksome to the ferocious minds of those, who were thus plunging themselves and their country still deeper and deeper into a dreadful abyss of falsehood and atrocity.

The Jacobin club applied to the convention for a decree to make all priests give up their letters of priesthood to be burnt. Many who dishonoured that character, came voluntarily forward and surrendered their functions. The bishop of Paris, Gobel*, presented himself, with several

* This wretched traitor, J. B. Gobel, was formerly bishop of Lydda (*in partibus*) suffragan of the bishop

curés, at the bar of the convention, declaring their intention to divest themselves of the functions

of Bâle, deputy from the clergy of Huningue and Bèfort to the states-general: he embraced the popular party and became odious and often ridiculous during the revolution, without being able to play an important part. Though born with some abilities, his age and his weak character fitted him more for being the tool and afterwards the play-thing of conspirators, than for becoming their chief, or even their colleague. On the 2d of January, 1791, he took his oath of fidelity to the new civil constitution of the clergy. On the 13th of March following he was appointed constitutional bishop of Paris; and, on the 6th of April he published a Pastoral Letter, to prove that popular elections were a recurrence to the times of the primitive church; at the same time he was the consecrator of the new bishops. Being admitted into the Jacobin club, he always distinguished himself by his violent motions, and was one of the first to assume the dress of a sans-culotte; he did not even fear, at the age of seventy, to declare, at the bar of the convention, that "he had been for sixty years of his life a hypocrite, and that the religion, which he had professed from his youth, was founded on falsehood and error only." On this occasion he received the president's embrace, was one of the first who sacrificed to the Goddess of Reason, and lent his church for this absurd festival. Prudhomme pretends to explain what induced Gobel to this step: "Terrified," he says, "by a night scene, which David, Cloutz, and Péraud, ex-member for the department, and a professed atheist, had played in his apartment, he went to the assembly at the head of his *staff*, that is to say, of his grand vicars, to abjure the catholic worship." This farce

with which superstition had clothed them; that their great example would be followed by their colleagues, and no other worship in future be acknowledged, but that of liberty, equality, and truth. Gobel threw off his vestments, and having with his vicars renounced at once his credentials and the Christian faith, was invited to the honours of the sitting.

Letters were daily received from the departments, announcing similar acts; and finally, as if to complete this impious and insane spectacle, a soon became the cause of, or the pretext for, his ruin. After the 10th of August, 1792, he had been appointed commissioner from the executive power to the republic of Rauracie (the country of Porentruy,) to promote its union with France; the inhabitants afterwards accused him of having pillaged the castle, which he did not deny, declaring that "he and his nephew having devoted all their fortunes to secure the revolution of this country, they had considered the spoils of this castle as a just indemnity." He repeated the same declaration before the revolutionary tribunal, whither he was sent after having been denounced by the Jacobins of Porentruy. He was arrested as an accomplice of Chaumette, Hébert, Clootz, and the faction of Atheists; and the revolutionary tribunal condemned him to death as a conspirator, on the 13th of April, 1794. He was born at Hanne, a department of the Upper Rhine. During his confinement he devoted himself again to his former religious exercises, and appeared before the other prisoners, not without a contrite and embarrassed air. His eyes were cast down as he went to the scaffold; his countenance was dejected, and he rapidly recited the prayers of the dying.

grand fête was celebrated at Paris, in which Reason was worshipped as a Deity, represented by a woman, who was actually carried in a chair to the cathedral of Paris, whither the convention went for the purpose of celebrating this anti-religious festival.

CHAPTER V.

Distresses of the Country.—Fall of Robespierre.—Beneficial Changes consequent thereupon.—Campaign of 1794.—Successes of the Allies.—Their repeated Engagements.—They retire, and the French again take possession of their Fortresses.—General Pichegru attacks the Duke of York in Holland, who retreats.—State of the War in Spain.—Severe Frost.—French enter Holland.—New Constitution.—Attempts of the remaining Jacobins to regain Power.—Report on the Constitution.—Insurrections of October, 1795.—Peace with Prussia. Death of Louis XVII. Madame Royale liberated. Affairs at Quiberon, and at the Rhine.

THE official reports, which were at this time made on the state of affairs, represented them in a most prosperous light, although it was well known that the people at large were enduring the most unprecedented misery, against which it would have been death to have complained. Commerce had been nearly annihilated, and industry could find no object; to possess wealth was the sure road to destruction. Thousands were unable to obtain even a third part of what

was needful for themselves and families; and when death from want seemed to be approaching, they were recommended to turn their thoughts towards the glories of the republican armies; that they ought to suffer with patience for the public good, and that it might be better if they would impose on themselves some civic fasts or set times for temporary abstinence. In the same manner the finances were said to be in a respectable state, although it was well known that fraud and force were the principal resorts of the government; and that for the single charge of spies over the conduct of the people (denominated committees of inspection), no less a sum than thirty-two millions of pounds sterling, per annum, had been incurred.

The murderous domination of Robespierre *

* An attempt was said to have been made on his life a short time before by Aimee Cecile Renault, daughter of a master stationer in Paris, and twenty years of age, who was condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, on 17th of June, 1794, as having tried to assassinate Robespierre. The sight of the blood, which flowed copiously in the capital, had disordered and inflamed the imagination of this girl; but it appears certain, and it was even then believed, that she had never harboured the design which was imputed to her. On the 23d of May, 1794, she presented herself at the house of Robespierre, and desired to see him. Being told that he was gone out, "He is," said she, "a public functionary, and ought, in that character, to answer all those who present themselves. When we had only a king, we

happily drew towards a close in the latter part of July; but his fall was even at last accelerated by himself. In a speech which he delivered to the convention, he complained so loudly of intrigues, that several members present felt it necessary to

were admitted to him immediately: I would shed all my blood to have one still." This style excited suspicions; she was taken to the committee and interrogated: "Do you know Robespierre?" she was asked. "No," answered she. "What did you want with him, then?"—"That does not concern you!"—"Did you say that you wished for a king?"—"Yes, for you are five hundred tyrants, and I was going to Robespierre just to see what a tyrant is like."—"Why do you carry that bundle with you?" She had under her arm some linen in a handkerchief. "Expecting to go whither you are going to conduct me, I was very glad to have a change of linen."—"What do you mean by that?"—"To prison, and afterwards to the guillotine." The unhappy girl had guessed but too well; two knives were found in her pocket, and she was consequently condemned to death, as having intended to assassinate Robespierre. She was led to execution, covered with a red shift, and her father, who was sixty-two years of age, perished with her as her accomplice. Her relations, her friends, her acquaintances, were involved in her fate: more than sixty persons whom she did not know, but who were confined in the same prison, were also sent to the scaffold; and of all those who were connected with this girl, her brothers alone survived her. They were then with the armies: the committee of public safety caused them to be arrested there, and ordered that they should be conducted to Paris to be tried; but their comrades furnished them with the means of escape.

rise for the purpose of exculpating themselves. The fears which this speech produced among some persons of a desperate cast, gave birth to that measure of courage which it was thought none could possess sufficiently for the almost hopeless enterprise of opposing Robespierre. In vain, when the measure of his guilt was filled, did he attempt to overcome his opposers in the assembly. "Down with him!" "Down with Cromwell!" resounded from every quarter. Persevering in his efforts, one of the members said to him, "Robespierre, you shall not speak, the blood of Danton is upon your head—it flows into your throat—it choaks you?" "Ah! ah!" exclaimed he, grinding his teeth and foaming with rage, "ah! ah! robbers! it is Danton then!" He was heard no more. Tallien drew a dagger, and declared if the sword of justice did not dispatch Robespierre, his hand should. "Well!" he exclaimed, "then lead me to instant death." "Execrable monster!" said Dumont, with a threatening gesture, "thou hast deserved it an hundred times." The falling partisans of Robespierre endeavoured to obtain sufficient force of arms in Paris to prevent his destruction, and he himself, between the period of his accusation and sentence, associated with them; but this was of little avail, for he was discovered at the hotel de Ville sitting against a wall, with a knife, which it was supposed he intended to use for his

own destruction ; but a soldier, in approaching to apprehend him, fired two pistols at him, one of which broke his jaw. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal with twenty-one of his principal adherents ; and at five o'clock on the 28th of July, a wretched spectacle of misery and abandonment, he suffered with his companions under the guillotine*, which also on the following

* Maximilian Isodore Robespierre, was born at Arras, in 1759. His father, a barrister in the superior council of Artois, having ruined himself by his prodigality, left France long before the revolution, established a school for the French at Cologne, and went into England, and thence into America, where he suffered his friends to be ignorant of his existence. His mother, whose name was Maria Josepha Carreau, was the daughter of a brewer ; she soon died, leaving her son only nine years old, and a brother who shared his fate. The bishop of Arras, M. de Conzié, who afterwards shewed such aversion from the principles of the revolution, contributed to send Robespierre to the college of Louis le Grand, where he had got him admitted on the foundation. It is said that, even in his childhood he was gloomy and wicked, though timid ; and that this temper, which he restrained before his masters, past with them for love of study, and gained him the favour of some among them, whilst others foresaw the blackness of his soul. The abbé de Proyart, the master, was the dispenser of the remittances which the bishop of Arras made to him ; and the abbé Aimé, canon of Paris, of whom he was afterwards the persecutor, allowed him his table. M. Hérivaux, one of the professors, an admirer of the heroes of Rome, contributed greatly to develop the love of republicanism in him ;

day dispatched sixty-two others who had been attached to him. His fall produced an almost frantic joy throughout France, and the convention

he surnamed him the *Roman*, and incessantly praised his already declared love of independence and equality. More assiduous, more diligent than is usual at that age, he went through his studies with considerable credit, and even gave hopes, as to talent, that he was far from realizing afterwards. In 1775, when Louis XVI. made his entry into Paris, he was chosen by his fellow-students to present to that prince the homage of their gratitude. Becoming a barrister in the council of Artois, he wrote against the magistrates of St. Omer, those of Arras, and the states of his province; and though little esteemed in his body, on account of his irascibility, he obtained a place in the academy of Arras. The political troubles of 1788 heated his brain; he was soon remarked in the revolutionary meetings at the beginning of 1789, and the tiers-état of the province of Artois afterwards appointed him one of their deputies to the states-general. On his arrival at the assembly, he at first obtained very little influence there; and he was even considered, during this first session, only as a gloomy man, capable of any crime, but gifted with very little ability. However, though the want of eloquence did not permit him to vie with the orators who then shone in the tribune, he began to acquire great power over the populace, and Necker in consequence cajoled him in the meanest manner, on the 19th of June. For some time he paid court to Mirabeau, who despised him; yet he accompanied him so assiduously in the streets and public squares, that he was at last surnamed *Mirabeau's ape*. It is not that he was attached to that celebrated man, but he flattered in him the idol of the people,

received congratulatory addresses on the occasion from every quarter.

The great change which the destruction of this

and took care to withdraw from him, as he saw him losing his popularity. The first time that he made himself remarked in the constituent assembly, was on the 20th of July, 1789, when he opposed a scheme of martial law, and from that time he endeavoured to legitimize insurrection. He laboured incessantly to destroy the king, and was at length enabled by his cunning to obtain a greater authority than even the monarch himself had ever possessed. He at length succeeded in gaining complete ascendancy of the commune, and of that of the Cordeliers, whom he termed *atheists*; and, from that time till his fall, his power found no more rivals. In August, 1793, he had condescended to preside in the convention, which he himself called his *machine of decrees*; but it was always in the Jacobin club and in the committees that he prepared the execution of his projects; and the words "it is necessary," "it must be so," "I will have it," at last became his daily expressions. Though he spoke little in the assembly, he often occupied the tribune in the Jacobin club, signified his orders there with the greatest despotism, and on the 11th of February, 1794, even caused two members to be expelled for having presumed to oppose his opinion. What is worthy of remark is, that France, groaning under the contests of the different parties, rejoiced for a short time in the blows which Robespierre gave them, hoping yet to be less unhappy under a single tyrant. The royalists, besides, thanked him for having dragged the most violent revolutionists to the scaffold, and almost forgot the laws of blood in which he had had a part; among others, that shocking decree passed against

tyrant occasioned, in abolishing the system of terror which had so long prevailed, was of the

the English and Hanoverian prisoners, which the armies constantly refused to execute. It was in the beginning of May that he announced, by Barrère, the usual organ of his commands, his new plan of religion, which gained him yet more applause, but which must have proved to every thinking man, that the tyrant thought himself at length master of the government, since he who had till that time attempted only to destroy, thought of rebuilding. In June he presided, for the second time, in the convention, and this is the period when the reign of terror was carried to its height, and (to say the truth), that also when he was least present, either at the convention, or at the committees. In silence, however, was then gathering a storm, which was soon to overthrow him : nevertheless it is certain that if, content with having destroyed all the first men of the convention, and with every day decimating all France, he had spared only his colleagues, among whom there was no longer any one who ventured to pretend to the first rank, his power would probably still have been of some duration ; but cowardly, timid, and suspicious, feeling his weakness, and thinking to mask it with barbarity, or rather seeking to create himself a support in the moderate party, by sacrificing to opinion, with which he wished to prop himself, the principal agents of the revolutionary government, and particularly the greatest part of the deputies who had been intrusted with missions, he announced the design of punishing the crimes and wasteful expenses of his colleagues, and of loading them with the crimes which, when conquerors, they re-charged on him ; and he thus forced to resistance men who would, perhaps, have desired nothing more than to serve and command under him ; the

most decided kind ; for although some of the sanguinary men who yet survived, aimed at per-

sight of the danger re-animated their courage, and certain of their destruction, they resolved to try at least to save themselves by a bold stroke. On the 10th of June, Ruamps, and especially Bourdon de l'Oise, ventured to shew some suspicion of the committee of public safety, which occasioned on the 11th a debate, in which Robespierre spoke with despotism, and his confidants, Barrère and Billaud-Varennes (who were to be his accusers a month afterwards), put Tallien to silence when he undertook the defence of Bourdon ; the two last and their friends saw that they were irretrievably ruined, and from that time they redoubled their efforts to overthrow Robespierre. Of this he was not ignorant ; but forgetting the system of attack which had always succeeded with him, and remaining deaf to the advice of St. Just, who united intrepidity to coolness, he temporized and ruined himself. After having passed several days in retirement, employed in projecting, instead of acting ; after having cooled, rather than warmed his partisans, by indecisive speeches made in the Jacobin club, he appeared again on the 26th of July, 1794, in the convention, and ascended the tribune to extol his own virtue. He endeavoured to gain over the Plaine, by reminding it that he had always defended it, and especially that he had opposed the accusation of the seventy-three. He then declaimed against the committees, of which several members (Billaud-Varennes among others) were leaving him ; some because they saw the storm gathering over his head ; others, because they had learnt that their names were in their turn placed on the lists of proscription. Bourdon again ventured to begin the attack first, by demanding that Robes-

petuating the late atrocities, they were vanquished after some severe struggles; and even the Jacobin

pierre's speech should be referred to the examination of the committees before it was sent to be printed, under pretence that errors might have got into it. *Errors!* into a speech of Robespierre's. This expression struck all ears; the party was firmly connected, it was thought time to act, and Vadier, Cambon, Charlier, Billaud, Panis, Amar, Bentabolle, Thirion, and Bréard, spoke successively against the despot, but with a half-boldness which shewed the terror that he inspired. Barrère alone, still uncertain, pronounced only insignificant phrases, incapable of compromising him with either of the two parties. In the mean time Robespierre perceived all the danger that threatened him; he saw that the greatest part of the members of the government were abandoning him, either through hatred, or that they might not fall with him; and on the night between the 26th and 27th he assembled his intimate friends. St. Just pressed him to act immediately; he delayed it for twenty-four hours, and that delay was his sentence of death. In vain St. Just wished to speak the next day in the convention; his voice was drowned: Tallien began the contest again, Billaud Varennes finished the tearing of the veil, and Robespierre having rushed into the tribune, cries of "Down with the tyrant!" immediately drove him from it. Then the people vied with each other in declaiming against the overthrown idol, and in giving him the last blows. However, surrounded on all sides, he shewed more courage than he was suspected of possessing; he still presumed to threaten the convention, and to say with an air of superiority to Tallien, who demanded permission to speak in order to bring back the debate to its real subject, "I shall be able to bring it

club, that great engine of the revolution, was abolished, so that now the ragings of faction

back." Nevertheless, after several accusations, which gave time for the principal part of the leaders to descend from the Mountain, and go about the hall to make sure of a majority, and to conquer the fear and uncertainty of the Plain, the decree of arrest was at last put to the vote, and carried against Robespierre, his brother, St. Just, Couthon, and Lebas, (who, not choosing, he said, to share in the shame of a decree passed against his friends, earnestly requested to be included in it). It was then that Robespierre, turning towards the conquerors, cried, "The ruffians triumph." But, in the night, the committee of general security was attacked, Robespierre and his accomplices were carried off from the Luxembourg, and conducted to the commune, where they were received, and where the commander of the national guard, Hanriot, the mayor, Fleuriot, the agent of the commune, Payan, and the rest of their friends, swore to defend them, and declared themselves in a state of insurrection against the convention. Robespierre then, for a short time, entertained the hope of triumphing; he even declared that he should march to the convention in two hours, and he, in conjunction with St. Just, wrote the following note to Couthon, who was not yet with him:—"Couthon, all the patriots are proscribed; the whole nation is risen; it would be betraying it not to come to the commune where we are." But Robespierre and his party lost their time in talking. The Parisians, resolved to declare for the conquerors, were waiting to know to which side the victory would fall, and who would be the masters whom it would be necessary to obey. The convention took the lead; it outlawed Robespierre and his partisans, and appointed Barras and eleven

suffered some intermission. But so far had suspicion and terror created habits of fear, that a

commissioners to direct the armed force ; then that part of the troops which had at first ranged itself on Hanriot's side, abandoned him, and at three o'clock in the morning the town-hall, Robespierre, and his friends, were in the power of the conventionalists. At the moment when he saw that he was going to be seized, he tried to destroy himself with a pistol-shot ; but he only shattered his under jaw. (Others have thought that he had made use of his brother's hand to deprive himself of life, and others again have said, that the shot was given by the gendarme Médal, who had sprung upon him to arrest him, and against whom he was defending himself.) He was immediately led into the lobby of the meeting-hall, then shut up in the Conciergerie, and executed on the same day, 28th of July, 1794. Whilst he was in the anti-chamber of the committee, a slight dressing was put on his wound ; he wished to wipe away the blood with which his mouth was filled : they gave him a cloth already bloody, and as he pushed it away, they said to him, " It is blood, it is what thou likest." He looked with an expression of disdain and pity at the person who addressed this speech to him, and continued to wipe his mouth with an appearance of tranquillity. What is worthy of remark is, that during his short confinement, he occupied the same dungeon that Hébert, Danton, and Chaumette, had successively inhabited. The gaolers knocked him about without ceremony, while he, with a stupified air, was examining his sad abode ; and when he made a sign to one of them, (for he could no longer speak,) to bring him a pen and ink, " What dost thou want with it ?" said the man to him, " is it to write to thy Maker ? Thou wilt see him without delay !" When he went out to

sort of mutual timidity succeeded the savage days of Robespierre, to which the people, pre-

go to execution, the prisoners obstructing the passage, the gaoler cried out, "Make way, make way, I say, for the incorruptible man." He was carried in a cart, placed between Hanriot and Couthon: the shops, the windows, the roofs, were filled with spectators, and cries of joy accompanied him all the way. His head was wrapt in a bloody cloth, which supported his under jaw, so that his pale and livid countenance was but half seen. The horsemen who escorted him shewed him to the spectators with the point of their sabres. The mob stopped him before the house where he lived; some women danced before the cart, and one of them cried out to him, "Thy execution intoxicates me with joy! Descend to hell, with the curses of all wives, and of all mothers!" The executioner, when about to put him to death, roughly tore the dressing off his wound: he uttered a horrible cry, his under jaw separated from the upper; the blood spouted out; and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died at the age of thirty-five. The following epitaph was written for him:—"Passenger, lament not his fate; for, were he living, thou would'st be dead."

Among those who fell with this tyrant, or rather as a consequence of his destruction, was the wretched man who sustained the office of public accuser, A. Q. Fouquier Tinville the son of a farmer at Héronelle in Artois. He was at first an attorney at the Châtelet, but he dissipated his property, lost his place, and became a bankrupt. He was afterwards employed as a clerk in the police office. In 1793 he was appointed head jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal; his sanguinary expressions, and his invectives against the indulgence of his colleagues, drew

posterously fond of giving identity to the ever-changing varieties of feeling, affixed the name of **Moderatism**.

on him the attention of Robespierre, who judged him worthy to act the part of public accuser to the tribunal, and he fully answered the expectations of such a patron. He caused Marie Antoinette to be condemned, but when accused some time after the fall of the Mountain, he endeavoured to vindicate himself by criminating Robespierre; but the tribunal of Paris condemned him to death on the 6th of May, 1795, for having caused the destruction of an innumerable multitude of French persons of every age and sex, under pretence of conspiracies; for having caused between sixty and eighty individuals to be tried in four hours; for having caused carts, which were ready beforehand, to be loaded with victims, whose very names were not mentioned, and against whom no depositions were made; and for having made up a jury of his own adherents. It would be impossible to detail his atrocities, yet some instances will convey an idea of his character. M. de Gamache was brought into court, but the officer declared that he was not the person accused. "Never mind," said Fouquier, "bring him, nevertheless." A moment after the real Gamache appeared, and both were at once condemned and guillotined. An agent of government one day expressing some apprehensions to Fouquier, he replied, "Patriot or not, if Robespierre chose it, you would come yourself, and I should make you go up my little steps; when Robespierre has pointed out any one to me, there is no help for it." Sixty or eighty unhappy wretches, who had never seen or known each other, were often confounded in the same accusation: and when Fouquier wished to dispatch them in the mass, he

But the events of the capital have necessarily withdrawn from view the operations of the army,

merely said to the jurymen, "I think, citizens, that you are convinced of the guilt of the accused." When this remark was made, the jurymen declared their consciences sufficiently enlightened, and condemned all the accused in the gross, without hearing one of them. He was accustomed to frequent a coffee-house in the palace of Justice, where the judges and jurymen of his tribunal met. There they reckoned the number of heads which had fallen in the course of the decade. "What do you think I have gained to-day for the republic?" Some of the guests, to pay court to him, would answer, "So many millions," and he immediately added, "In the next decade I shall undress three or four hundred," meaning guillotine. A considerable number of victims were one day met in their way [to the tribunal by Fouquier, who had not been present at their trial, he asked the jurymen on what crime they had been pronouncing sentence? "They did not know," they said, "but he might run after the condemned persons and inquire; upon which they all began to laugh, saying, "It is so much got at least." Even the fate of Robespierre could not slacken his sanguinary zeal. On the 27th of July, 1794, he condemned forty-two persons, whom he caused to be executed, and some one having represented to him that the seizure of Robespierre ought to cause some change, he answered, "Never mind, justice must take its course." After the victory of the 9th he had the assurance to go and congratulate the convention on the fall of the tyrants, and he succeeded in obtaining his own continuance in his office; but the public voice exclaimed against him, and he was arrested on the 4th of August, and tried on the 8th of December

whose vigour was kept up notwithstanding all, by the anxious and perpetual attentions of the committee for military affairs, headed by Carnot, La Fitte, d'Anissi, and others, who closely applied themselves to the measures necessary for rendering that immense force, which the requisition had called out, effectual on the frontiers.

By the plan of the campaign, it was intended, on the part of the allies, first to protect West Flanders by a strong body of men, and then to penetrate with the main army to Landrecies, so as to get within the line of the French frontier towns, in order to cut them off from the interior, by covering the country from Maubeuge to the sea. But in this attempt they had many very serious evils to apprehend, even in the event of its success, on account of the strong positions which must have been provided against; for even the town of Lisle alone might have been made to contain a large army within its walls.

following. From that time till his execution four months more elapsed, during which various dilatory steps were taken in his favour, till at last the convention decreed on the 18th of April, 1795, that the revolutionary tribunal should continue sitting till a definitive sentence had been passed on him: he then defended himself with presence of mind, and attributed all the executions which he had ordered, to the committees and laws which enjoined this mode of conduct. When led to execution he answered the populace, who, greeted him with hisses, by the most sinister predictions, and was executed last.

The forces of the allies, at the commencement of the campaign of 1794, amounted to one hundred and eighty-seven thousand men; fifteen thousand Dutch, and fifteen thousand Austrians, under the prince of Orange and general Latour, formed the siege of Landrecies; fifteen thousand British, and fifteen thousand Austrians, commanded by the duke of York and general Otto, encamped towards Cambray. The emperor and the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, at the head of sixty thousand Austrians, were advanced as far as Guise; twelve thousand Hessians and Austrians under general Worms, were stationed near Douay and Bouchain; count Kaunitz, with fifteen thousand Austrians, defended the Sambre and the quarter near Maubeuge; and lastly, general Clairfait, with forty thousand Austrians and Hanoverians, protected Flanders from Tournay to the sea; sixty thousand Prussians, for whom a subsidy had been paid by Great Britain, were expected in addition to these, but did not arrive.

The French commenced their active operations. On the morning of the 26th of April they attacked the duke of York near Cateau in great force. After a severe conflict they were repulsed, and their general, Chapuy, was taken prisoner. At the same time they attacked the troops under his imperial majesty, but were there also repulsed in a similar manner; losing in all fifty-seven pieces of cannon. On the same day, however, general

Pichegru advanced from Lisle, attacked and defeated general Clairfait, took thirty-two pieces of cannon; and, in the course of a few days, made himself master of Vervic, Menin, and Courtray. On the 29th of April, the garrison of Landrecies surrendered to the allies. When this event was known in the convention, it excited a considerable degree of alarm. It was, however, the last effectual piece of success enjoyed by the allies during this disastrous campaign. General Clairfait was again completely defeated by Pichegru in a general engagement; and it was found necessary to send the duke of York to his assistance. This movement was no doubt unavoidable; but the effect of it was, that it split down the allied army into a variety of portions, capable of carrying on a desultory warfare, but unfit for the vigorous objects of conquest. On the 10th of May the duke of York was attacked near Tournay by a body of the enemy, whom he repulsed; but he was unable to join Clairfait, upon whose destruction the French were chiefly bent: for at the same time that the duke of York was occupied by the attack upon himself, Pichegru fell upon Clairfait with such irresistible impetuosity, that he was compelled to retreat in confusion, and a part of his army fled to the neighbourhood of Bruges. While Pichegru was thus proceeding successfully in West Flanders, general Jourdan

advanced in East Flanders from Maubeuge, crossed the Sambre, and forced general Kaunitz to retreat. On the 18th, however, general Kaunitz succeeded in repulsing the enemy in his turn, and they recrossed the Sambre with considerable loss.

The allies now found that no progress could be made in France while general Pichegru was advancing successfully, and occupying West Flanders in their rear. The emperor, therefore, withdrew the greater part of his army to the neighbourhood of Tournay, and resolved to make a grand effort to cut off the communication between Courtray and Lisle, in order completely to prevent the retreat of Pichegru. On the night of the 16th, the army moved forwards in five columns for this purpose. Clairfait was at the same time directed to cross the Lys, for the purpose of effecting a general junction, if possible, and thus complete the plan. The attempt during that evening seemed to promise success; but, in the course of next day, the division under the duke of York was overpowered by numbers, and defeated. The progress of the rest of the columns was stopped, and Clairfait completely defeated. In the confusion of the day, when attempting to rally the different parts of the division which he commanded, the duke of York was separated from his own troops by a party of the enemy's cavalry, and only escaped being made prisoner by the

swiftness of his horse. The plan of the allies being thus frustrated, their army withdrew to the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Pichegru speedily attempted to retaliate against the allies. On the 22d of May he brought down at day-break his whole force against them. The attack was commenced by a heavy fire of artillery, and all the advanced posts were forced. The engagement soon became general; the attacks were repeatedly renewed on both sides, and the whole day was spent in a succession of obstinate battles. All that military skill could do was performed on both sides. The French and the allied soldiers fought with equal courage and discipline; but at nine o'clock in the evening the French withdrew from the attack. In this engagement the French, though unsuccessful in their immediate object, by the weight of their fire, their steady discipline, and their violent obstinacy of attack, raised their military character in the estimation of the officers and soldiers of the allied army; and it was soon perceived, that in addition to these, they possessed other advantages. Their numbers were immense; they implicitly obeyed their generals; who, being men newly raised from the rank of subalterns, as implicitly submitted to the directions of the committee of public safety. A combination of efforts was thus produced whose operation was not retarded by divided counsels. On the other side, the numbers of the allies were

daily declining ; their leaders being independent princes or powerful men, whose sentiments and interests were often hostile to each other, and their exertions were consequently frustrated.

On the 24th the French again crossed the Sambre, but were driven back with great loss. On the 27th an attempt was made to besiege Charleroi, but the prince of Orange on the 3d of June compelled them to raise the siege. On the 12th a similar attempt was made, and they were again repulsed. In West Flanders, however, Pichegru was sufficiently strong to commence the siege of Ypres. He was soon attacked by general Clairfait for the purpose of relieving it, but without success. Ypres was garrisoned by seven thousand men ; reinforcements were therefore daily sent from the grand army to Clairfait for the purpose of relieving it. It is unnecessary to mention the bloody contests in which that unfortunate general was daily engaged with the French. It is sufficient to say, that they were uniformly unsuccessful, and were the means of wasting, in a great degree, the armies of the allies. Ypres held out till the 17th of June, when it capitulated ; and such was the discipline of the French army at this time, that no notice could be obtained, for several days, of that occurrence. But in consequence of this and of other events, the duke of York found it necessary to retreat to Oudenarde ; for Jourdan, after storming the Austrian camp of

Betignies, now advanced with such strength upon Charleroi in the east, that its immediate fall was feared. As this would have enabled the two French armies to encircle the whole of Flanders, the prince of Cobourg advanced to its relief. Charleroi surrendered at discretion on the 25th. This circumstance was not known by the prince of Cobourg when he advanced on the 26th, to attack in their entrenchments the army that covered the siege near Fleurus; but the covering army being by this time reinforced by the accession of the besieging army, the allies were repulsed. Jourdan then drew his men out of their entrenchments; and, in his turn, attacked the Austrians. He was three times repulsed, but was at last successful: the loss of the vanquished army is said to have been very great.

The allies now retreated in all quarters. Nieuport, Ostend, and Bruges, were taken; and Tournay, Mons, Oudenarde, and Brussels, opened their gates. At this last place, the French armies of East and West Flanders united. Landrecies, Valenciennes, Conde, and Quesnoi, were fruitlessly left with garrisons in them. The allied troops, evacuating Namur, formed a line from Antwerp to Liege to protect the country behind. The French advanced in full force, and attacked general Clairfait, cut to pieces half the troops that now remained under him, and broke the line. The allies retreated before them. The duke of

York was joined by some troops under the earl of Moira; that with much difficulty had made their way to him from Ostend; and with these and the Dutch troops he retired to the neighbourhood of Bergen-op-zoom and Breda for the protection of Holland. The prince of Cobourg evacuated Liege, crossed the Maese, and placed a garrison in Maestricht. He soon, however, sent back a part of his troops to the neighbourhood of Tongres; for here, to the astonishment of all Europe, the French armies made a voluntary pause in their career of victory, and ceased to pursue their retiring foes. Sluys, in Dutch Flanders, was the only foreign post that they continued to attack, and it surrendered after a siege of twenty-one days.

On the Rhine the war was equally successful on the part of the French. On the 12th, 13th, and 14th of July, repeated battles were fought, in which the French succeeded. They had numerous armies in every quarter. Their mode of fighting was to make full preparation for accomplishing their object, and to fight in great bodies day after day till it was obtained. The Palatinate was next overrun, and Treves taken by general Michaud. Flanders and the Palatinate have always been accounted the granaries of Germany; and both of them, at the commencement of the harvest, now fell into the hands of the French.

On the 1st of June the British fleet, under the

command of earl Howe, gained a most splendid victory over the French fleet to the westward of Ushant. The French committee of safety were known to have purchased in America immense quantities of grain and other stores. These were embarked on board one hundred and sixty sail of merchantmen, convoyed by six sail of the line. Lord Howe sailed to intercept this valuable convoy. The French fleet sailed at the same time to protect it. On the morning of the 28th of May, the fleets came in sight of each other. The British admiral had previously dispatched six ships of the line under admiral Montague, to intercept the French convoy, while he should engage and detain the grand fleet. The French dispatched eight sail to defeat this attempt. In the course of the 29th Lord Howe got to windward of the French fleet. His force was twenty-five, and theirs was twenty-six, sail of the line. The following day he bore down upon them, and broke their line. The engagement was one of the severest ever fought. The French admiral, in less than an hour after the close action commenced in the centre, crowded off with twelve of his ships. The British fleet was so much disabled, or separated, that several of the French dismantled ships got away under sails raised on the stump of their foremasts. Seven sail of the line, however, remained in possession of the British, and two were sunk. In the mean

time, admiral Montague fell in with the French convoy, but it was now guarded by fourteen sail of the line; and, as he could not encounter such a force, he returned home, and it was safely conveyed into port.

The allies in their retreat had left strong garrisons in the French towns which had surrendered to them. These were Condé, Valenciennes, Quesnoi, and Landrecies. They now surrendered to the republican armies with so little resistance, that the conduct of the emperor began to be considered as ambiguous, and he was even suspected of having entered into some kind of compromise with the French. But this idea proved erroneous; for as soon as the army which had besieged these towns was able to join the grand army under Pichegru and Jourdan, the operations of the campaign were resumed after a suspension of almost two months. The French army divided itself into two bodies. One of these under Jourdan advanced against general Clairfait, who had succeeded the prince of Cobourg in the command in the neighbourhood of Maestricht. On the 15th of September the French attacked the whole Austrian posts in an extent of five leagues from Liege to Maestricht. On that and the following day the losses were nearly equal. On the 17th the French with fifty pieces of cannon attacked General Kray in his entrenched camp before Maestricht. Kray was already retiring when General Clairfait ar-

rived with a strong reinforcement, and after a severe combat the French were once more compelled to retire. On the 18th the French renewed the attack with tenfold fury upon every part of the Austrian line, and the whole was compelled to fly to the neighbourhood of Aix-la-Chapelle. General Clairfait now chose a strong position on the banks of the Roer, where he even declared it to be his wish that he might be attacked. But by this time the spirit of his army was humbled, desertions became numerous, and the want of discipline was extreme. On the first of October the French crossed the Maese and the Roer, and attacked the whole Austrian posts from Ruremond down to Juliers. After a bloody engagement, the brave and active, though unfortunate, general Clairfait was compelled hastily to cross the Rhine, with the loss of ten or twelve thousand men. The French general did not attempt to cross that river, but one detachment of his army took possession of Coblenz, while others laid close siege to Venlo and Maestricht, which soon surrendered.

The division of the French army, in the mean time, under general Pichegru came down upon Holland, and attacked the allied army under the duke of York between Bois-le-duc and Grave. They forced the advanced post of Boxtel. Lieutenant-general Abercromby was sent to attempt to recover this post on the 15th of September, but he found the French so numerous that he was

obliged to retreat. Indeed the French, it was ascertained, were no less than eighty thousand strong in that neighbourhood. The duke of York, unable to contend against a force so superior, retired across the Maese with the loss of somewhat less than fifteen hundred men, and Pichegru immediately laid siege to Bois-le-duc.

On the 30th of September, Crevecœur was taken, and Bois-le-duc surrendered in ten days after. In it four hundred and eight French emigrants were taken prisoners; and these, as well as seven hundred that had been taken at Nieuport, five hundred at Sluys, and eleven hundred at Valenciennes, were all put to death, agreeably to the barbarous law formerly made by the convention. The French now followed the duke of York across the Maese. Upon this the greater part of the allied army under his royal highness crossed the Rhine and took post at Arnheim. The remainder followed soon after, and Nimeguen was occupied by the French on the 7th of November. The duke of Brunswick was at this time requested to take the command of the allied army, to protect Holland, if possible. He came to Arnheim for that purpose; but after examining the state of things there, he declined the undertaking.

The allied troops had now so often fled before their victorious and almost innumerable enemies, and had so often been in want of every necessary, that they had lost that regularity of conduct and

discipline which alone can afford a sober prospect of success. The French, on the contrary, were at this time generally pretty well received by the people of those countries through which they passed; their cause had been industriously represented every where as the cause of liberty, and the nations (at least the inferior ranks) had not yet learned, as they afterwards did, that liberty in the hands of the vicious is a dangerous weapon; abounding in every thing, and proud of fighting in a popular cause, they acted with order and submitted to discipline. In addition to all these advantages, the French leaders had the dexterity to persuade the world that new and unknown arts were employed to give aid to their cause.

At this period the *telegraphe* was first used for conveying intelligence from the frontiers to the capital, and from the capital to the frontiers. Balloons were also used by the French during this campaign to procure knowledge of the position of the enemy. An engineer ascended with a balloon, which was suffered to rise to a great height, but prevented from flying away by a long cord. He made plans of the enemy's encampment; and during an attack he sent down notice of every hostile movement. With all these advantages, however, after the capture of Nimeguen, they once more made a halt in their career, and abstained from the attack of Holland, which now seemed almost prostrate before them.

While these events occurred in the north, the French arms were scarcely less successful on the side of Spain. Bellegarde was taken; in the Western Pyrennees, Fontarabia surrendered, and also St. Sebastian; indeed the whole kingdom of Spain seemed panic-struck. That feeble government, with an almost impregnable frontier, and the most powerful fortresses, could make little resistance; and the difficult nature of their country was their only protection. The history of this war, therefore, is only a history of victories on the part of the French.

In the Eastern Pyrennees, on the 17th of November, the French general Dugommier was killed in an engagement, in which his army was successful. On the 20th of that month the French again attacked the Spaniards, and routed them by means of the bayonet, without firing a single musket-shot. Tents, baggage, and cannon, for an army of fifty thousand men, fell into the hands of the conquerors, along with a great part of the province of Navarre. Towards the end of the year, an army of forty thousand Spaniards, entrenched behind eighty redoubts, the labour of six months, suffered themselves to be completely routed; their general, Count de la Union was found dead on the field of battle, and the whole Spanish artillery was taken. In three days after, the fort Fernando de Figueres, containing a garrison of nine thousand one hundred and seven men, surrendered, although it mounted

one hundred and seventy-one pieces of cannon, and possessed abundance of provisions. The French continuing their conquests, Rosas was taken, and the whole province of Catalonia was left at the mercy of the invaders.

The successes of this wonderful campaign were not yet terminated; for the last part of them is perhaps the most important, although no great effort was necessary to its execution. The winter now set in with uncommon severity. For some years past the seasons of Europe had been uncommonly mild; there had been little frost in winter, and no intense heat in summer. But during the late season the weather had long been remarkably dry till the latter part of harvest, when there fell a considerable, though by no means unusual, quantity of rain. Towards the end of December a severe frost bound up the whole of the rivers and lakes of Holland. The Waal was frozen over in the beginning of January; a circumstance which had not occurred for fourteen years past. Taking advantage of this, the French crossed that river, and with little opposition seized the important pass of Bommell, which at other seasons is so strong by its inundations. The allied army had been joined by seventeen thousand Austrians, and had received orders to defend Holland to the last. They did so, and were successful in repulsing the French for some days between the Waal and the Leck; but the republican army, amounting to

seventy thousand men, having at last advanced in full force, the allied troops were compelled to retire across the Yssel into Westphalia. In the course of their march through this desert country, in the midst of severe frost and a deep snow, they suffered incredible hardships, and lost a very great number of men. The French, in the mean time, advanced rapidly across the country to the Zuyder sea, to prevent the inhabitants from flying, and carrying off their property. On the 16th of January, 1795, a party of horse, without resistance, took possession of Amsterdam. The other towns surrendered at discretion. In consequence of an order from the states-general, the strong fortresses of Bergen-op-zoom, Williamstadt, Breda, &c., opened their gates to the French. The fleet and the shipping were fixed by the intense frost in their stations, and fell a prey to the enemy; who thus, with little effort, made a complete conquest of this populous and once powerful country. The stadtholder and his family fled to England. The French declared, that they did not mean to make subjects but allies of the Dutch, and invited them to call together popular assemblies for settling their own government, under the protection of the French republic.

Thus terminated a campaign, the most astonishing, perhaps, that has been known in the history of mankind. In the course of it, even before the conquest of Holland, the French had taken two

thousand pieces of cannon and sixty thousand prisoners. After that event, the conquered territories added to them a population of nearly fourteen millions of people. Luxembourg and Mentz were the only places on this side of the Rhine that resisted them. The former was closely blockaded, for the purpose of compelling it to surrender; the latter was several times assaulted, but successfully held out.

At this period Europe seemed to be weary of this bloody contest, and the Diet of Ratisbon intimated its resolution to adopt such measures as might tend to bring about a general pacification. A treaty was concluded between the grand duke of Tuscany and France. The convention declared their readiness to treat for peace with any of the powers of Europe upon honourable terms. But Great Britain and Austria felt persuaded, that an honourable and permanent peace could not be obtained with France, while her government was subject to such perpetual changes. For such was the enmity of the Mountain party against the Gironde, that any treaty entered into by the latter, would have been trampled upon by the former; and such, it was observed, might continue to be the aspect of affairs in that distracted country for an indefinite length of time.

As the constitution which had been framed in the year 1793, during the tyrannical dominion of Robespierre was justly deemed impracticable, a

committee was appointed to frame one entirely new. It was composed of Sieyes, Cambaceres, Merlin of Douay, Thibaudeau, Mathieu, Le Sage of Eure and Loire, and Latouche. On the report of Cambaceres, the 19th of April, that the committee thought that a commission should be appointed for this important business, a number of qualified persons were chosen, while all citizens were invited to communicate their sentiments upon the subject, and the committee was to give orders for the best plans to be published. The feelings of the nation at large received additional gratification from the conduct of the convention towards Fouquier Tainville, the president, and fifteen judges and jurors, of the revolutionary tribunal. They were fully convicted on the 8th of May, and executed on the 9th, passing into eternity amidst the just execrations of a vast multitude of spectators.

The Jacobins, although defeated on the 1st and 2d of April, did not consider themselves yet as entirely subdued. They were plotting a most extensive insurrection, which was not to be confined to the capital, and fixed on the 20th of May as the period of revolt. On the morning of that day, the tocsin was accordingly sounded, and drums beat to arms in the suburb of St. Antoine, in which the Jacobins had always enjoyed the greatest influence. Upon this the convention met; and although the insurrection was far from

being a secret, the committee of public safety did not appear to have taken any measures to prevent it. It was only at the moment when the insurgents were approaching, that general Hoche was appointed to the command of the armed force, and sent to collect the military and citizens for the protection of the convention. The hall was presently surrounded, the guards were overpowered, and the mob forced their way into the midst of the assembly. The multitudes of women who met upon this occasion shouted for bread, and the constitution of 1793. Vernier, the president, a man far advanced in years, yielded the chair to Boissy d'Anglas, who kept it during the remainder of the day. The mob had cockades with this inscription upon them, "Bread, and the constitution of 1793." One of the party attached to the convention imprudently tore off the hat of one of the insurgents, whom the multitude attacked with swords; and as he fled towards the chair of the president, he was killed by a musket shot. The majority of the members gradually retired from this scene of lawless intrusion, and left the multitude masters of the hall. Four of the members who remained espoused the cause of the insurgents, whose triumph, however, was of very short continuance. A large body of the military and the peaceable citizens vanquished them in the evening, the powers of the majority were restored, and the

four deputies who espoused the cause of the mob were arrested.

It would appear that the convention and the citizens of Paris now believed their triumph to be complete, as no measures were adopted by them sufficient to prevent the repetition of a similar outrage. The Jacobins, however, were still not determined to view their cause as desperate, for next day they collected in the suburbs, and in the afternoon made a second attempt. The Carousal was taken by them without opposition, when they pointed some pieces of cannon against the hall of the convention, the members of which being wholly unprotected, endeavoured to gain over the mob by flattery,—by promising them bread, and the constitution of 1793, or whatever else they thought proper to demand; and the president even gave the deputation the fraternal embrace. On the 23d, the citizens assembled, and went to the Thuilleries to defend the convention from insult and violence. The military collected in considerable force; and the convention was at length encouraged to act on the offensive. It was decreed that if the suburb of St. Antoine did not immediately surrender its arms and cannon, with the murderer of Ferrand, (a popular member who had been killed by a man whom the mob rescued on his being carried to execution) it would be declared in a state of rebellion. The generals of

the convention received orders to reduce it by force; and the insurgents, finding themselves unequal to the conflict, were forced by the inhabitants to make an unconditional surrender, to preserve their property from the depredations of the military. The soldiers found among the prisoners were put to death, on which occasion six of the members were tried and condemned by a military commission. Three of them were guilty of suicide, and the other three were publicly executed *.

* The following Proclamation was also issued:—

*Proclamation from the National Convention to the Citizens
of Paris, May 24, 1795.*
Citizens,

THE national convention, whose most ardent wish is to provide for the wants of the people, and who would long since have accomplished that wish, if the operations of the government had not been checked by the enemies of the public weal, think it their duty, at this moment of trouble and agitation, to point out to the good citizens the conduct which they ought to adopt, and the duties which they ought to fulfil.

Men, notorious for the infamous parts which they have played, under the dreadful reign of the late anarchy, have organized a revolt under the name of insurrection. The other demands which they connect with the demands for provisions, afford room to doubt whether their object is to complain of our melancholy situation in that respect, or to profit by it.

Disposed to arm those in want, whom they irritate by the

In the southern parts of France, the Jacobins were equally turbulent as their brethren in Paris,

fears which they affect to entertain, and by the rejection of confidence, they pretend to be astonished at the unproductive nature of our commerce. Such, citizens, are the men whom you ought to distrust, and whose perfidious insinuations and seditious provocations you ought to repel; they offer to your view the dishonourable signal of revolt, which leads to slavery.

Your courage, and your love for the republic, your active zeal for the security of persons and property, are a guarantee to the national representation, that you will not acknowledge any other standard than that which has so often been honoured by victory, and which your children, brethren, and friends, love to see at the head of your phalanxes; that tri-coloured standard which, in remote countries, conquered by their intrepidity, present to their animated looks the precious and encouraging image of the country.

Citizens, the instigators of the troubles take good care not to disclose their secrets to you; they abhor peace, because it will re-establish abundance and vivify industry. A treaty of peace was to be signed at Basle on the 16th of last Germinal. On the 12th they excited revolt. Negotiations, entered into with activity and prudence, open to the government a pleasing perspective, and promise the most satisfactory result: these same disturbers of the public peace endeavour to stifle at its birth, the germ of your prosperity, and to break the thread of the political operations of those who govern.

Citizens, this is the moment in which you are going to gather the fruit of so many painful sacrifices; this is the moment in which a definitive government, the only remedy

and formed an insurrection at Toulon on the 20th of May, seizing on the gates, upon which they

for the present evils, is on the point of being given to France, fixed on the bases of liberty and equality; in this moment, when you are entering the port, your internal and external enemies excite commotions and tempests, and throw this city and France against the rocks still blood-stained by anarchy.

Whatever perfidy may attempt, or anarchy undertake, the national convention, who by their courage will always be worthy of their post, will open neither the hall of the jacobins nor the temple. The genius of liberty animates them; strong in the confidence of all good citizens, they will know how to fulfil their functions, and to make an honourable termination of their career. It is painful to us, citizens, to direct your attention in this moment to any other object than that of subsistence. Your multiplied and pressing wants affect our sensibility, and have long occupied our zeal; but can we speak of the miseries of scarcity, without referring to a disorganisation which was the cause of it? Can we talk of ills, without referring to those who wished to increase them?

The convention, on their side, by redoubling, as much as possible, their diligence and care to provide for your wants, hope to be seconded by the active patriotism of all good citizens who are the friends of the laws, of liberty, and of peace, and who are attached by principle to the maintenance of property.

This well-founded hope, doubling its force, prepares success to the new measures of government relative to provisions, and will give you abundant resources in the present crisis; it will give to your enemies the opprobrium of a defeat, and to the republic the *eclat* and utility of a triumph.

planted cannon ; they set at liberty such of their associates as had been incarcerated, and detained the fleet which was about to put to sea. From Toulon they proceeded to Marseilles, at which time they were three thousand strong, and had twelve pieces of cannon. On their march they were opposed by generals Charton and Pactod, by whom they were defeated, three hundred of them being sent prisoners to Marseilles, and Toulon was liberated.

The Mountain party, who were anxious to revive the terrific reign and measures of Robespierre, were now very much reduced, and exposed in many places to violent persecution. Associations were formed for the purpose of avenging the crimes they committed during the continuance of their power. When the character of Robespierre's government is considered, and what all ranks of men suffered under it, it may well appear astonishing that any number of men should hazard their lives in attempting its restoration. The party was of course gradually abandoned by its adherents on the fall of its tyrant, and it sunk in the estimation of every one who examined it with attention. Still, however, a small party remained, the members of which were men of superior activity and enterprise. They consisted of ferocious republicans, who thought they beheld the revival of royalty and aristocracy in every attempt to establish a mild, sober, and regular government. Yet, amidst the universal

odium cast upon them, the Jacobins expected to rise once more into power; but what is most singular, the revival of their strength is to be dated from their unsuccessful insurrection just mentioned. Their want of popularity began to affect the convention, as the people remembered how tamely that body submitted to the tyranny of Robespierre, of whose power the majority of the members had been the servile instruments. The press, therefore, being now free, the most hideous picture of their conduct was held up to the public. The greater part of them now began to repent of their victory over the Jacobins, as they foresaw that the consequences in the end might prove fatal to themselves.

On the 23d of June, Boissy d'Anglas presented the report of the committee relative to the plan of a new constitution. It was, like its predecessors, prefaced with a declaration of the rights of man, consisting besides of fourteen chapters on the following subjects:—the extent of the republican territories, the political state of citizens, primary assemblies, electoral assemblies, the legislature, the judicial authority, the public force, public instruction, the finances, foreign treaties, the mode of revising the constitution, and an act that no rank or superiority should exist among citizens, but what might arise from the exercise of public functions.

The legislature was composed of two assem-

blies, the council of the Ancients, consisting of two hundred and fifty members, as none but married men and widowers turned of forty could be chosen members of it; the other council consisted of five hundred members, and enjoyed the exclusive privilege of proposing the laws, while the council of Ancients might reject or oppose, without having power to alter the decrees. The executive power was intrusted to five persons who were to be forty years of age at least, and to be denominated the *Executive Directory*. The two councils had the power of electing its members, the council of five hundred proposing ten times as many candidates as could be chosen, and the council of two hundred and fifty selected the five members from among these fifty candidates. One member of the directory was to go annually out of office, by which they were all changed in the course of five years. In enacting laws the directory had no vote, being appointed purely to superintend the execution of them, to regulate the coining of money, and to have the disposal of the armed force. The treaties made by the directory with foreign courts were not binding without the sanction of the legislature, and war could not be made without a decree of the two assemblies. The whole articles of the new constitution underwent a separate discussion, when they were to be transmitted to the primary assemblies for their approbation. Prior to this event, however, it was

agreed on by a majority of the convention, in order to avert the danger which now threatened themselves, from the loss of public favour, that at the approaching general election, the electors should be bound to return two-thirds of the present members, and if this failed, that the convention themselves might fill up the vacancies. These decrees accompanied the constitution; but at Paris the idea of re-electing two-thirds of the old members was rejected with contempt, and the absurdity of it pointed out with every expression of acrimony.

The convention, in the mean time, did not fail to publish the approbation of the decrees by the primary assemblies*, as well as of the constitu-

* They also issued the following proclamation:—

Proclamation to the People of France upon the Completion of the Constitution.

Men of France,

AFTER long storms you are about to decide upon your fate by pronouncing upon your constitution. Long has the country loudly called for a free government, the wisdom of whose principles should be the guarantee of its duration.

Have your representatives attained this end? They think they have—they have at least desired to attain it. Citizens, who love order and tranquillity, accept the pledge of it: it consists in the government that is offered to you; that alone, by giving us peace, can restore prosperity and plenty.

Men of France, citizens of all professions, of all opinions, rally for the interest of the country. Above all, do not

tion, although it is certain that vast numbers had confounded the two together, and given their approbation accordingly. Such was the rage of many against the convention in consequence of the decrees already mentioned, that it was even proposed to try the whole members before a new revolutionary tribunal, and punish each in proportion to his crimes. The sections remonstrated against the decrees to the convention, and the more eager they appeared, the more persuaded was the convention of its own imminent danger. Every remonstrance, however, was disregarded, and the contending parties formed the resolution of settling it by force of arms. About one hundred electors of Paris met in the hall of the theatre in the suburb of St. Germain before the day of

make retrograde steps to the point from which you set out. Ages have passed within six years; and though the people may be tired of revolution, they are not tired of liberty. You suffer, it is true, but it is not by making fresh revolutions—it is by completing that which is begun that you will terminate your miseries.

No, you will not impute to the republic which hitherto has not been organized, the ills which cannot be re-produced under a government free without licentiousness, and strong without despotism.

Sovereign people, hear the voice of your representatives. The project of the social compact which they offer to you was dictated by the desire of your happiness; it is for you to attach your destiny to it. Consult your interest and your glory, and the country is saved.

meeting which had been appointed by the convention; and having chosen De Nivernois for their president began their debates, absurdly concluding that the sovereignty was vested in the hands of the electors, after these had been chosen by the primary sections. A body of troops was sent to dissolve them as an illegal assembly, which was accomplished without any difficulty, the citizens not having been unanimous in their sentiments respecting it.

This, however, did not prevent the sections from presuming, that by steady perseverance they should be finally victorious, having always found that the party favoured by the co-operation of the Parisian populace, had carried their point ever since the commencement of the revolution. The armed force with which the convention was surrounded gave the people very little alarm, as they endeavoured to persuade themselves that the military could never be brought to act against the citizens. As the members of the convention also appeared to suspect their fidelity, they applied for assistance to those very Jacobins whom they had humbled on the 24th of May. If the sections of Paris detested the members for their connexion with the atrocities of Robespierre, the Jacobins admired them from this very circumstance; a set of restless, bloody men, who were never satisfied with wars abroad, nor revolutions at home. Hundreds of them were released from

prison, and put in a state of requisition for assisting the legislative body.

The sections of Paris having beheld the convention surrounded by men who had justly obtained the appellations of *terrorists* and *men of blood*, exhibited a desire of engaging them which was altogether unbounded. Their leader designed to make the members prisoners, till they could be conveniently brought to trial, and in the interim conduct public affairs by committees of the sections, till a new legislative body could be chosen. General Miranda was to have the command of the armed force after the overthrow of the convention; but as it was still problematical which party would be triumphant, he retired to the country till the event should declare it, resolving to share the reward of a conquest to which he was to contribute nothing. The superior officers of the convention were unfaithful, yet the subalterns and soldiers might have continued firm, to which they would, no doubt, be strongly exhorted by their Jacobin auxiliaries. What was greatly in favour of the convention was, that the first moments of enthusiasm were permitted to pass away, after which the sections exhibited a conduct both undecided and weak.

Barras was appointed on the 4th of October by the convention, to the command of the troops; generals Menon, Raffet, and some others, having been dismissed from office. Barras called in the

aid of the most able officers, and made speedy preparations for a vigorous defence. Troops with cannon were placed in every avenue leading to the Thuilleries, and masked batteries were placed in situations of a more retired nature, if any of these should happen to be forced. The precaution was also taken of transporting the provisions and military stores to St. Cloud, if the convention should be obliged to retreat from Paris.

On the 5th of October both parties continued on the defensive for several hours, but about three o'clock in the afternoon, overtures were made by the general of the insurgents, Danican, in which he declared that the intention of the citizens was for peace, only they apprehended a massacre was to be begun by the armed terrorists surrounding the convention, and that if these were removed they would return to their duty; but it was resolved to try the issue of the dispute at the point of the sword, as the Jacobin party in the convention were now more fully persuaded of ultimate success. On this occasion, the armed Jacobins without seem to have been the first aggressors. The citizens on the south side of the river made an effort to reach the convention by the Quay de Voltaire, but were prevented by the cannon of the convention, while the conflict was extremely obstinate on the other side of the river, near the convention. After an engagement of four hours

continuante, the sections were repulsed, and driven to the post of St. Roche, which being also taken after an obstinate resistance, the insurgents fled to their head-quarters at the section of Pelletier; but the troops of the convention were, about midnight, in possession of the whole city.

The victors attributed this insurrection to the influence of the royalists; and whether they were right in their judgment or not, it is certain that the cause of royalty was now become less odious to the people in general, than the bloody extravagance of republicanism; in this revolt the mob seem to have looked no farther than the disarming of the Jacobins, and obtaining new representatives; but the attempt failed, and the Mountain were again at the head of the state. The sittings of the convention were terminated on the 27th of October; but it was succeeded by the new legislature in terms of the constitution. Among its last decrees, was one granting a general amnesty for all crimes and proceedings of a revolutionary nature; but the emigrants, transported priests, and every one concerned in the last insurrection, were excluded from the benefit of it. The agents of Robespierre, in Paris and the departments, were liberated from prison, and promoted to lucrative offices under the new government.

The first step of the new legislature was to divide itself into two councils, and proceed to the election of an executive directory. The coun-

cil of five hundred was bound to present to the other council fifty candidates, of which a list was accordingly made out, consisting of no more than five whom they wished to be chosen, the other forty-five consisting of obscure persons, farmers and peasants, which left no more power to the council of ancients than the form of an election, which must fall on Sieyes, Barras, Rewbell, La Reveillere Lepaux, and Letourneur de la Manche, none of the rest being qualified for the office. The intriguing Sieyes, however, did not deem it prudent to venture on the possession of power; and on his declining to accept of this new dignity, Carnot was appointed in his stead. The form of government now established did not promise to be productive of much happiness or tranquillity, as the most important offices in the state were filled by men whom the people could not endure. The members too of the executive directory, except only Reveillere Lepaux, had always been connected with the Mountain party, and they employed the Jacobins in almost every official department, which could not fail to render the government peculiarly obnoxious. It was feared that a directory chosen by the Jacobins, and new legislators appointed by the people, might one day be the means of totally subverting the constitution, which indeed actually took place.

On the 10th of April a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia was presented, in order to be

ratified. By virtue of this treaty, it was agreed that the republican troops should be immediately withdrawn from the territories of Prussia on the right bank of the Rhine, having power to retain, till a general peace, the territories which France then possessed on the left bank of that river. There was to be a mutual exchange of prisoners of war, and the intercourse between the two countries was to be placed in its former situation. Measures were also adopted to shift the theatre of hostilities from the northern parts of Germany. At the same time the king of Sweden acknowledged the French republic, whose ambassador was received at Paris with great solemnity. Another treaty was concluded with Prussia in the month of May, which had a special reference to the line of neutrality. The cantons of Switzerland followed the example of the king of Sweden, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the 22d of July, between the republic and the court of Spain, in consequence of which France gave up all the conquests she had made in that country, and the original frontier was restored ; in return for which the republic received all the Spanish part of St. Domingo. In this treaty the Dutch republic was included, and the mediation of the king of Spain, in favour of Portugal and the Italian princes, was accepted by France.

On the 9th of June, the persecuted child, heir to the throne of the unfortunate Louis XVI., and

his only son, died in the prison of the Temple, where he was confined with his sister since the death of the king*. His death, interested the

* His uncle (Louis XVIII.), on thus succeeding to the throne of France, issued the following proclamation, which may be regarded as the first act of a reign, since rendered so interesting to Europe.

LOUIS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF FRANCE AND
NAVARRÉ.

To all our Subjects, greeting,

In depriving you of a king, whose whole reign was passed in captivity, but whose infancy even afforded sufficient grounds for believing that he would prove a worthy successor to the best of kings, the impenetrable decrees of Providence, at the same time that they have transmitted his crown to us, have imposed on us the necessity of tearing it from the hands of revolt, and the duty of saving the country, reduced, by a disastrous revolution, to the brink of ruin.

The fatal conformity which subsists between the commencement of our reign and the commencement of the reign of the Fourth Henry, operates as an additional inducement with us to take that monarch for our model; and imitating, in the first instance, his noble candour, we shall now lay open our whole soul before you. Long, too long, have we had to deplore those fatal circumstances which imperiously prescribed the necessity of silence; but now that we are allowed to exert our voice, attend to it. Our love for you is the only sentiment by which we are actuated; our heart obeys with delight the dictates of clemency; and since it has pleased Heaven to reserve us, like Henry the Great, to re-establish in our empire the reign of order and the laws, like

French nation so deeply in favour of his barbarously used family, that the convention found it

him we will execute this divine task, with the assistance of our faithful subjects, by uniting kindness with justice.

Your minds have, by dreadful experience, been sufficiently informed of the extent and origin of your misfortunes. Impious and factious men, after having seduced you by lying declamations, and by deceitful promises, hurried you into irreligion and revolt. Since that time a torrent of calamities has rushed in upon you from every side. You proved faithless to the God of your forefathers; and that God, justly offended, has made you feel the weight of his anger; you rebelled against the authority which he had established; and a sanguinary despotism, and an anarchy no less fatal, have alternately continued to harass you with incessant rage.

Consider an instant the origin and progress of the evils with which you are overwhelmed. You first consigned your interests to faithless representatives, who, betraying the confidence which you had reposed in them, and violating the oaths which they had taken, paved the way for their rebellion against their king, by treachery and perjury towards you; and they rendered you the instruments of their passions, and of your own ruin. You next submitted to the despotic sway of gloomy and austere tyrants, who contested with each other, while the contest was marked by mutual massacres, the right of oppressing the nation; and they imposed upon you an iron yoke. You afterwards permitted their blood-stained sceptre to pass into the hands of a rival faction, which, in order to secure their power, and to reap the fruits of their crimes, assumed the mask of moderation, which sometimes it lifts up, but which it dares not yet venture wholly to throw aside; and you have changed sun-

prudent to liberate the princess. The committee of public safety proposed to the emperor to give

guinary despots, whom you abhorred, for hypocritical despots whom you despise. They conceal their weakness beneath an appearance of mildness, but they are actuated by the same ambition which influenced the conduct of their predecessors. The reign of terror has suspended its ravages, but they have been replaced by the disorders of anarchy. Less blood is shed in France, but greater misery prevails. In short, your slavery only changed its form, and your disasters have been aggravated. You have lent a favourable ear to the calumnious reports that have been propagated against that ancient race which, during so long a period, reigned as much in your hearts as over France: and your blind credulity has increased the weight of your chains, and prolonged the term of your misfortunes. In a word, your tyrants have overthrown the altars of your God and the throne of your king, and have completed the sum of your wretchedness.

Thus impiety and revolt have been the cause of all the tortments you experience: in order to stop their progress you must dry up their source. You must renounce the dominion of those treacherous and cruel usurpers who promised you happiness, but who have given you only famine and death: we wish to relieve you from their tyranny, which has so much injured you, to inspire you with the resolution of shaking it off. You must return to that holy religion which had showered down upon France the blessings of Heaven. We wish to restore its altars; by prescribing justice to sovereigns and fidelity to subjects, it maintains good order, ensures the triumph of the laws, and produces the felicity of empires. You must restore that government which, for

her up in exchange for the commissioners whom Dumourier had sent prisoners to the Austrians,

fourteen centuries, constituted the glory of France and the delight of her inhabitants ; which rendered our country the most flourishing of states, and yourselves the happiest of people : it is our wish to restore it. Have not the various revolutions which have occurred augmented your distress, since the period of its destruction, and convinced you that it is the only government that is fit for you.

Give no credit to those rapacious and ambitious men, who, in order to violate your property and to engross all power, have told you that France had no constitution, or, at least, that its constitution was despotic. Its existence is as ancient as the monarchy of the Franks ; it is the produce of genius, the master-piece of wisdom, and the fruit of experience.

In composing the body of the French people of three distinct orders, it traced with precision that scale of subordination, without which society cannot exist. But it gives to neither of the three orders any political right which is not common to all. It leaves all employments open to Frenchmen of every class ; it affords equal protection to all persons and to all property ; and by this means, in the eye of the law, and in the temple of justice, all those inequalities of rank and fortune disappear, which civil order necessarily introduces among the inhabitants of the same empire.

These are great advantages ; but there are others still more essential. It subjects the laws to certain specific forms prescribed by itself ; and the sovereign himself is equally bound to the observance of the laws, in order to guard the wisdom of the legislature against the snares of seduction, and to defend the liberty of the subject against the abuse of

together with Semonville and Marat, who were seized on their way to Turkey, as envoys extra-

authority. It prescribes conditions to the establishment of imposts, in order to satisfy the people that the tributes which they pay are necessary for the preservation of the state ; it confides to the first body of the magistracy the care of enforcing the execution of the laws, and of undeceiving the monarch, if he should chance to be imposed upon ; it places the fundamental laws under the protection of the king and of the three orders, for the purpose of preventing revolutions, which are the greatest calamities that the people can possibly sustain ; it has adopted a multiplicity of precautions in order to secure to you the advantages of a monarchical government, and to screen you from its dangers. Do not your unexampled misfortunes, as much as its venerable antiquity, bear testimony of its wisdom ? Did your ancestors ever experience the evils which you have borne, since the hands of ignorant and obstinate innovators have overthrown their constitution ? It was the common support of the cottage of the poor, and the palace of the rich ; of personal freedom, and of public safety ; of the rights of the throne, and of the prosperity of the state. The moment it was overthrown, property, safety, freedom, all ceased to exist. No sooner did the throne become a prey to usurpers, than your fortunes were seized by plunderers ; the instant the shield of royal authority ceased to protect you, you were oppressed by despotism and sunk into slavery.

To that ancient and wise constitution, whose fall has proved your ruin, we wished to restore all its purity which time had corrupted ; all its vigour, which time had impaired : but it has itself fortunately deprived us of the ability to change it. It is our holy ark ; we are forbidden to lay rash

ordinary from the French republic. The proposal was agreed to, and the exchange took place at Basle, in Switzerland.

hands upon it; it is your happiness and our glory; it is the wish of all true Frenchmen; and the knowledge we have acquired in the school of misfortune, all tend to confirm in our mind the necessity of restoring it entire. It is because France is dear to us, that we are anxious to replace her under the beneficent protection of a government, the excellence of which has been proved by so long a continuance of prosperity. It is because we feel it to be our duty to quell that spirit of system-making, that rage for innovation which has been the cause of your ruin, that we are anxious to renovate and confirm those salutary laws which are alone capable of promoting a general unity of sentiment; of fixing the general opinion, and of opposing an insurmountable barrier to the revolutionary rage, which every plan of a change in the constitution of our kingdom would again let loose upon the public.

But while the hand of time gives the stamp of wisdom to the institutions of man, his passions are studious to degrade them; and they place either their own work on the side of the laws, with a view to weaken their effect, or make it usurp the place of the laws in order to render them useless. In those empires which have attained the highest pitch of glory and prosperity, abuses most generally prevail; because in such states they are the least likely to attract the attention of those who govern. Some abuses had therefore crept into the government of France, which were not only felt by the lower class of people, but by every order of the state. The deceased monarch, our brother and sovereign lord and master, had perceived, and was anxious to remove them; in his last

If England was unfortunate in her affairs on the continent, she still retained her superiority

moments he charged his successor to execute the plans which he had in his wisdom conceived, for promoting the happiness of that very people who suffered him to perish on the scaffold. On quitting the throne, from which crime and impiety had hurled him, to ascend that which Heaven had reserved for his virtues, he pointed out to us our duties in that immortal will, the inexhaustible source of admiration and regret. The king! that martyr! submissive to the God who had made him a king, followed his example without a murmur, in rendering the instrument of his punishment a trophy of his glory, and in attending to the welfare of his people at the very time when they were completing the sum of his misfortunes! What Louis XVI. could not effect, we will accomplish!

But though plans of reform may be conceived in the midst of confusion, they can only be executed in the bosom of tranquillity. To replace upon its ancient basis the constitution of the kingdom, to give it its primitive impulse, to put all its parts in motion, to correct the vices which had crept into the administration of public affairs, is the work of peace.

Religious worship must be re-established, the hydra of anarchy destroyed, the regal authority be restored to all its rights, before we can execute our intentions of opposing abuses of all kinds with invincible firmness; of seeking them with diligence, and of proscribing them with decision.

The implacable tyrants who hold you in subjection alone retard that happy moment. They do not attempt to deny that the time of illusion is past; and that you feel all the weight of their ignorance, their crimes, and their depredations. But those fraudulent promises, of which you are no

on the watery element. A fleet under admiral Hotham engaged a French fleet on the 14th of

longer the dupes, are succeeded by the dread of punishment, which they alone have deserved. After having robbed you of your property, they represent us to you as an enraged avenger, who means to deprive you of life, the only good that you now have left. Dismayed by the reproaches of their conscience, they wish to make you partake of their fate, that they may profit by your despair; they endeavour to inspire you with false alarms, that they may be able to quiet their own apprehensions. But, know the heart of your sovereign, and leave to him the task of preserving you from the machinations of your enemies.

We shall not only forbear to magnify errors into crimes, but crimes themselves, which have originated in error, we shall be ever ready to pardon. All Frenchmen who, abjuring pernicious opinions, shall throw themselves at the feet of the throne, will be received: All Frenchmen, who have only become criminal in consequence of being misled, far from finding in us an inflexible judge, will discover a compassionate father. Those who, in the midst of revolt, have preserved their fidelity; those who by an heroic sacrifice have become the companions of our exile and our associates in misfortune; those who have already shaken off the bondage of illusion, and the yoke of revolt; those who, being still retained by a cruel perseverance, shall hasten to return to reason and to duty, shall all be treated as our children. If one part of these have preserved their character and their rights by unshaken fidelity, the other part have recovered them by a salutary repentance; and they shall all share in our affection. We are Frenchmen—a title, which the crimes of a few individuals can no more degrade,

March, and took two sail of the line, the *Ca Ira* and *Censeur*; but this was nearly counterbalanced

than the enormities of the duke of Orleans can pollute the blood of Henry the Fourth. This title, which was ever dear to us, will also render us dear to those who bear it. We pity those men who are still retained in the paths of error, from weakness of mind, or by the arts of seduction; we water with our tears the ashes of those brave men who have fallen victims to their fidelity; we lament the fate of those who have perished in support of rebellion and schism, and whose restoration to the bosom of the church and the monarchy would have given us the most pleasing satisfaction.—The evils which you experience constitute our only suffering; and to cure those evils is the only felicity which we can henceforth hope to enjoy.

The excesses of which the people have been guilty, are certainly dreadful; but we cannot forget that seduction and violence have had greater influence over them than opinion and inclination; and we know, that even while they favoured the revolutionary schemes, their hearts remained faithful, and secretly disavowed the conduct which terror directed. That people, alternately deceived and subdued, but always more deserving of pity than of censure; that people, who have been sufficiently, nay, too severely punished by six years of slavery and oppression; by that multitude of calamities which they have drawn down upon their own heads; that people, who were always dearly beloved by the kings our predecessors, will make us amends for the cruel torments we have suffered, by affording us an opportunity of loading them with our benefactions.

Who would have ventured to believe, that perfidy and rebellion could ever have infected that army which was the

by the loss of the Berwick and Illustrious. Three French ships of the line were captured by land

support of the throne, and at all times devoted to honour and to their sovereign?—Their successes have proved, that courage is never to be extinguished in the heart of a Frenchman. But how many tears ought you to shed over these fatal successes! They have been the principle of the general oppression; they have constituted the support, and increased the audacity of your execrable tyrants; they are the instruments employed by the hand of God for the chastisement of France. What soldier is there, who will not, when he returns to his home, find the still bloody traces of those calamities which his victories have occasioned? But the French army cannot long remain the enemy of its king. Since it has preserved its ancient valour, it will resume its primitive virtues; since honour is not extinguished in its bosom, it will follow her dictates; it will listen to her voice. Soon, we doubt not, the cry of *Vive le roi* will replace the clamours of sedition; soon will the army return, submissive and faithful, to re-establish our throne; to expiate at our feet even its own glory; and to read in our looks oblivion of past errors, and pardon of past crimes.

We might let justice take her course against the criminal authors of the people's errors, against the chiefs and instigators of the revolt; and perhaps we ought so to do, though how could we palliate the irreparable injury which they have done to France? But those whom Divine justice has not yet overtaken, we will leave to their own conscience; that will be punishment enough. May they, overpowered by this excess of indulgence, and remaining submissively attached to their duty, justify us in our own mind for the unexpected pardon which we shall have granted them!

Bridport on the 23d of June, in an attack on the enemy's fleet off Port l'Orient, the rest of the

But there are crimes (why can they not be effaced from our recollection, and from the memory of man!)—there are crimes, the atrocity of which exceeds the bounds of royal clemency. In that horrid sitting, in which subjects had the audacity to bring their king to trial, all the members who sat as judges were accomplices in the crime.—But we are still willing to believe, that those whose votes were calculated to save his sacred head from the parricidal axe, were only induced to mix with his assassins by their desire to preserve his life; and that motive may suffice to ensure their pardon. But those miscreants, whose sacrilegious tongues dared to pronounce the fatal sentence, all those who co-operated in, and were the direct and immediate instruments of his death; the members of that tribunal of blood, which, after having given the capital the signal, and set it the example of judicial massacres, crowned their atrocious deeds by sending their queen to the scaffold; a queen still more exalted in her prison than upon her throne; a princess, whom heaven had formed to be the finished model of every virtue! all these monsters, whom posterity will never name without horror, are devoted by the general wish of the French to the punishment which their crimes deserve.

That sentiment which leads us to confine the vengeance of the law within such narrow bounds, is a certain pledge to you that we will never tolerate any acts of private revenge. Therefore, dismiss every apprehension which the idea of being exposed to such revenge may have excited.

The faithful princes of our house have the same principles, the same affections, and the same views with ourself: you are as dear to them as to us: like us, they are only

fleet effecting its escape. As England thus evinced upon all occasions her superiority by sea, advan-

anxious to set the end of your sufferings. The only object of their labours, as well as of ours, is your deliverance; and if, in these days of mourning and of crimes, Providence should have doomed us to perish successively by rebellious hands, you would see the sceptre pass from one to the other, without perceiving the smallest alteration in the exercise of the royal authority.

Those Frenchmen who have remained among their countrymen to set them an example of unshaken fidelity, will only pity those who have not had the resolution to imitate their conduct; and that unchangeable virtue which they have opposed to the torrent of corruption, will not be debased by criminal animosity. Those ministers of a God of peace who have only fled from the violence of persecution to preserve your religious faith, filled with the zeal that enlightens, with the charity that forgives, will teach, as well by their practice as their precepts, oblivion of injuries and the love of their enemies.—Could you possibly fear that they would tarnish the immortal splendour which their generous conduct, and the blood of so many martyrs, have reflected on the Gallican church? Our magistrates, who have ever been distinguished for their integrity in the administration of justice, will set an example of obedience to the laws, whose ministers they are. Inaccessible to the passions which it is their duty to repress, they will, by a due exertion of impartial firmness, give effect to those sentiments with which clemency inspires us. The nobility, who have only left their country the better to defend it; who have only drawn their swords in the firm persuasion that they were fighting for France, and not against it; who offer you assistance

tage was taken of this circumstance to send assistance to the royalists, who had again com-

even at the time when duty compels them to fight you; who oppose to the attacks of calumny their firmness in adversity, intrepidity in battle, humanity in the moment of victory, and their invincible attachment to the principles of honour—those nobles, against whom every effort is made to excite your hatred, will not forget that they are destined to enlighten, to assist, to support the people; they will place their glory in their magnanimity; they will ennoble the numerous sacrifices they have made by the sacrifice of their resentment; and that class of emigrants who are their inferiors in birth, though their equals in virtue; those worthy Frenchmen, whose fidelity is the more deserving of praise from the additional temptations they had to resist, would, if it were necessary, offer themselves to you as pledges for the sincerity of those generous sentiments which they have so often witnessed. Who would dare to inflict vengeance when the king forgives?

But the mercy, which will signalize the first days of our reign, will be invariably united with firmness: that love of our subjects which leads us to be indulgent, teaches to be just. We shall forgive, without regret, those men, criminal as they are, who have led the people astray; but we shall treat with inexorable rigour all those who may hereafter endeavour to seduce them from their duty. We will open our arms to those rebels who may be induced by repentance to return to us; but if any of them should persist in rebellion, they will find that our indulgence will stop at the limits which justice prescribes, and that force will reduce those whom kindness has proved inadequate to attach.

That throne, which the revolution has twice deprived of its lawful sovereign, is not to me an object of ambition or

menced an insurrection in the western departments, which unfortunately for them came too

enjoyment!—Alas! still smoking with the blood of our family, and encompassed with ruins, it can promise us nothing but sorrowful recollections, labours, and pains. But Providence orders us to ascend it; and it is our duty to obey. We are called thither by our rights, and we know how to defend them. We may there be able to promote the happiness of France, and that motive gives us courage to proceed. If we should be reduced to the necessity of conquering our country, confiding in the justice of our cause, and in the zeal of true Frenchmen, we will advance to the conquest with indefatigable perseverance, and with undaunted courage; we will advance to the conquest, should it be necessary, through the cohorts of rebels, and the ponds of assassins. The God of St. Louis, that God whom we call to witness the purity of our intentions, will be our guide and our support.

But no—we shall not be reduced to the necessity of using arms against deluded subjects. No; to themselves alone, to their regret, to their love, shall we be indebted for the re-establishment of our throne; and the mercy of heaven, moved by their tears, will make religion once more flourish in the empire of the most christian kings.

This pleasing hope revives our heart. Misfortune has removed the veil which was placed before your eyes; the harsh lessons of experience have taught you to regret the advantages which you have lost. Already do the sentiments of religion, which shew themselves with eclat in all the provinces of the kingdom, present to our sight the image of the glorious ages of the church! already does the impulse of your hearts, which brings you back to your king, declare that you feel the want of being governed by a father.

late, for the convention had offered them a treaty, which was accepted, and signed at Nantz, on the

But it is not enough to form barren wishes; decisive resolutions must be adopted. It is not enough to groan beneath the yoke of your oppressors; you must be assisted in shaking it off. Show the world how the French, restored to their senses, can obliterate faults, in the commission of which their hearts were not concerned; prove that as Henry the Great has transmitted to us with his blood his love of his people, so are you also the descendants of that people, one part of whom, always faithful to his cause, fought to restore him to his throne; and the other part, abjuring a momentary error, bathed his feet with the tears of repentance. Remember that you are the grandsons of the conquerors of Ivry and Fontaine Française.

And you, invincible heroes, whom God has appointed to restore the altar and the throne, and whose mission has been attested by a multitude of prodigies: you whose pure and triumphant hands have, in the heart of France, kept alive the torch of faith and honour's sacred fire: you who have been the constant objects of our affection, and in whose labours we have been incessantly anxious to share; who were always our consolation and our hope; illustrious catholic and royal armies, worthy models for all Frenchmen to imitate, receive this testimony of your sovereign's satisfaction. Never will he forget your services, your courage, the integrity of your principles, and your unshaken fidelity.

Given in the month of July, in the year of Grace, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and the first of our reign.

LOUIS.

3d of March, on the one part by deputies from the convention, and on the other by Charette, Sapineau, and other chiefs of the insurgents of La Vendée, and by Cormartin, as representatives of the party called *chouans*, or *night owls*. Stofflet submitted to the republic on the 20th of April. The countenance given by England to the royalists, made them disregard these treaties. The troops sent to their aid were composed of emigrants in the pay of Great Britain, and a number of prisoners who agreed to join the royal cause. Puisaye commanded this army, and count de Sombreuil afterwards joined him with an inconsiderable reinforcement. This expedition arrived in the bay of Quiberon on the 25th of June. Arms were put into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, but it was soon found that they could not be of much advantage to regular troops. A resolution was therefore adopted to withdraw the emigrant army within the peninsula of Quiberon, the fort of which name was taken on the 3d of July, the garrison of which consisted of about six hundred men, and was afterwards occupied by the emigrants. All the posts without the peninsula were carried by an army under general Hoche, the emigrants and Chouans escaping into the boats of the British fleet, or flying for protection under the cannon of Quiberon fort. The republicans then began to erect formidable works on the heights of St. Barbe,

which commanded the entrance of the peninsula. To prevent these operations, a sally on the 7th was made from the fort, but without effect, and another with still greater force, had no better success. The whole forces in the peninsula amounted, including Chouans, to about twelve thousand men, five thousand of whom were sent to make an attack on the heights of St. Barbe, where the republicans were entrenched in three camps, two of which were taken without difficulty; but as the emigrants rushed forward to attack the third, a masked battery was opened upon them with grape shot, in consequence of which a dreadful slaughter ensued, and very few of the emigrants would have effected their escape, had not the fire from the British ships compelled the republicans to abandon the pursuit.

It was now evident that a complete and ultimate failure would be the fate of this expedition, and desertion among the emigrants became very frequent. The weather was very tempestuous on the evening of the 20th, which induced the emigrants to indulge in a fatal security. The troops of the republic were conducted in silence along an unguarded quarter of the shore, and surprised one of the posts. They extinguished the lantern which was intended to give the British fleet the alarm, and seized on their matches. Some of the emigrants threw down their arms, while others maintained resistance. They were

all taken and put to death, excepting only such as declared they had been compelled to oppose the republicans.

But to return to the affairs of the continent. Jourdan and Pichegru, who still commanded on the Rhine, proceeded, after some unimportant skirmishes, to press the siege of the strong town of Luxembourg, which was garrisoned by ten thousand men, under marshal Bender. As no succours could arrive, the marshal capitulated at a more early period than was expected; but obtained for his garrison permission to retire into Germany, on condition of not serving again till exchanged. Mentz alone remained in possession of the Austrians on the left bank of the Rhine; but the republicans were not yet able to spare a sufficient force for the investment.

A long period of inaction ensued, at the end of which the republicans under Jourdan suddenly crossed the Rhine, and attacked Dusseldorf. The Austrians, struck with alarm at the unexpected movement, abandoned the city, and retreated, still harassed by the French, towards the Lahn, where Clairfait, who commanded this division, was joined by a considerable force.

Soon after Jourdan had effected the passage of the Rhine, Pichegru also passed near Mannheim, and having taken that city, the French became masters of a sufficient tract of country to undertake the siege of Mentz. The Austrians placed

their chief hopes on a junction to be effected between the armies of Clairfait and Wurmser. To impede this event, Pichegru gave battle to the latter general, and had gained the victory, but his troops having dispersed themselves in every direction in quest of plunder, and the Austrians having been informed of the fact by the peasantry, who justly detested the French, the defeated cavalry returned on the late victors, and regained the lost advantages of the day, killed a great number of men, and drove the remainder into Mannheim.

Meanwhile Jourdan, according to a plan previously arranged, had crossed the Maine, and invested Mentz on the right side of the Rhine; but Clairfait, having received reinforcements, fell suddenly on his rear, captured his artillery, and obliged him to raise the blockade, recross the Maine, and retreat to Dusseldorf; while his rear was constantly harassed by the victorious imperialists. Pichegru was also obliged to retreat to the other side of the Rhine, leaving a strong garrison in Mannheim, and hoping to reinforce the camp before Mentz, sufficiently to resist the Austrians; but before he could arrive the attack had been made, the French completely routed, their artillery taken, and they with difficulty enabled to effect a retreat. The victorious armies, having formed a junction, retook the Palatinate, and the greater part of the country between the Rhine

and the Moselle: Pichegru effected a junction with Jourdan; but their utmost efforts could not prevent the recapture of Manheim, though they impeded a project formed by the imperialists for penetrating to Luxembourg.

On the side of Italy, preparation rather than action marked the progress of the year. Scherer had gained some advantages in the straits near the riviere di Ponente; the peace with Spain gave reason to hope for ample reinforcements; and the republicans were in possession of all the summits of the Alps, from the borders of the lake of Geneva to the county of Nice. Both parties were occupied in strengthening their positions; the French at Borghetto and Albenga, their opponents at Dego; while general Dewins extended his redoubts over the heights which cover Savona and Vado.

Genoa, placed in the centre of hostilities, and whose neutrality had already been violated by the French, was a scene of continual negotiation, and the government was threatened by all parties; the ports were blockaded by an English fleet, and all provisions destined for the army of Italy intercepted. The French, at length, terminated the suspense and danger in which they were involved, by an attack on the whole Austrian line, for the purpose of expelling them from the Genoese territory. This measure was resolved in a council of war held at Albenga; and the

French were encouraged in their resolution by a knowledge that the Austrian army had suffered much through sickness. The grand attack was preceded by several partial skirmishes, in one of which generals Augereau and Chastel expelled the Austrians from the position of Campo di Pietri, taking five hundred prisoners.

Encouraged by this success, the French made their grand assault on the Austrian army in the valley of Loano; and after a contest which lasted from six in the morning till five in the evening, compelled them to retreat upon Garesio, with the loss of eight thousand men killed and prisoners. The next day the action was renewed, and the Austrians were again compelled to retreat towards Savona and Bagniano: Dewins endeavoured to prevail on the senate of Genoa to deliver into his hands the fortress of Savona; but on their refusal, was obliged to pass the straits of la Bochetta, to effect his retreat on the side of Acqui. The French thus obtained possession of La Pietra, Loano, Finale, Vado, and considerable magazines, which the Austrians had amassed in Savona; but their wants or their avidity impelled them to the most wanton and disorderly acts of rapacity. Scherer published a vigorous proclamation for the purpose of restraining their excesses, but the whole country was alarmed and disgusted at their proceedings. They might, but for this unmilitary conduct, have made themselves completely mas-

ters of the Apennines; but the emperor sent during the winter, a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men, and the court of Turin six thousand, under general Colli, who occupied the most advantageous positions.

After many difficulties, an armistice was agreed to on the banks of the Rhine; and though the stipulations were not expressly extended to Italy, the season compelled the observance of a truce in that quarter. Sanguine hopes were entertained by some politicians, that a general pacification might be effected; but the French had only a temporary scheme in view, resolving to gratify to the utmost their projects of ambition, and endeavouring to weaken still more the alliance formed against them, by detaching the king of Sardinia from the common cause.

CHAPTER VI.

Republican Zeal of the New Government.—Financial Difficulties.—Conspiracy at Paris.—Negotiations with England.—Early Life of Buonaparte.—He obtains the Command of the Army of Italy.—Progress of the War in Germany.—Buonaparte's Campaign in Italy.—His Successes.—Revolt at Pavia.—Conquest of Italy.—Treaty with the Pope.—Corsica restored.—West India Islands.—Negotiations with England renewed, and again abandoned.—English explanatory Manifesto.

THE new government, anxious to shew its zealous attachment to republicanism and its hatred of royalty, had recently sent to the frontiers, under an armed force, M. Carletti, envoy from the grand duke of Tuscany, in consequence of his having requested permission to wait on the daughter of the late king as a matter of ceremony; and they also passed a decree for observing throughout the republic the 21st of January as a fête, in celebration of what they termed the just punishment of the last king, to be observed in all the communes and by all the fleets and armies.

The perpetual expenses of the war, and the almost exhausted state of the treasury, brought

on the directory a series of difficulties which it was not easy to surmount, and they were therefore compelled to announce their situation to the council. They stated, that under present exigencies, it might be necessary to exceed the limits of the constitution, and they proposed the raising of a forced loan of six hundred millions of livres. This measure, which passed after some modification, being found insufficient, a decree was obtained for a new paper currency, founded on the national domains, for the purchase of which the holders were to possess a title; but this issue becoming speedily depreciated, new taxes were levied with such eagerness as to occasion some suspicions as to the personal integrity of those engaged in the government.

During their preparations for the approaching campaign, the directory attempted to render themselves popular at home, by the establishment of the *National Institute*, or society of men of letters; under the protection of government. Every man of erudition, who had escaped the bloody persecution of the Mountain party, was invited to be a member. It was opened on the 4th of April, in the hall of the Louvre, when the ambassadors of Spain, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, America, Tuscany, Genoa, and Geneva, were present, and the members of the directory in their robes of state. The president expressed the determination of the executive power to afford every

encouragement to the improvement of literature and the arts; and the president of the institute replied that it was the determination of the members to endeavour to give lustre to the republican government by the exercise of their talents, and by publications. The speeches were enthusiastically applauded by fifteen hundred spectators, and the general expectation was, that France was now to enter on a career of glory and prosperity wholly unprecedented.

Divided in their conduct, according to the prevalence of the opposite parties, the directory adopted systems of the most contradictory tendency. They restrained the jacobins by shutting up their principal place of meeting near the Pantheon, and by preventing their secret assemblies in various public-houses; but, at the same time, they closed many churches, theatres, and peaceable societies, as if they were desirous to console the jacobins, and confound all distinctions between them and their opponents. By degrees, however, these ferocious persons were in a train of being expelled from the public offices, and their impatience of all control, and eagerness for unlimited power, again rendering them dangerous to government, made it necessary to take further measures for preventing their conspiracies and disarming and dispersing their leaders.

Babœuf, who assumed the name of Gracchus, placed himself at the head of a new conspiracy;

and Drouet, the post-master of Varennes, who stopped the king on his journey, and who had, on his return from confinement in Austria, been honourably received in the legislature, was also a conspicuous leader. They had established a committee of insurrection, under the name of *secret directory of public safety*, which corresponded with inferior committees, dispersed throughout the capital. Funds were supplied for the maintenance of patriots by voluntary contribution, and great numbers daily flocked to Paris, who were considered as recruits. Their plan (if the report of their enemies may be believed, supported by papers, genuine or forged) was, to massacre the five directors, all the legislators who had deviated from the principles of the Mountain, the ministers, and all the constituted authorities in Paris who should issue orders for resisting them, or who should beat the *générale*, and all foreigners of whatever nation they might be. The insurgents were then to seize the gates of Paris, the post-office, the treasury, the mint, and all magazines, private as well as public, containing victuals or ammunition. The constitution of 1793 was to be proclaimed on the bodies of the victims, and two placards were ready printed which were to be profusely distributed and pasted up. One was headed in large characters, CONSTITUTION OF 1793; LIBERTY, EQUALITY, COMMON WELFARE! The other displayed as conspicuously the words,

THOSE WHO USURP SOVEREIGNTY OUGHT TO BE PUT TO DEATH BY FREEMEN!

The precise means of executing their project were carefully arranged. The instant these placards had been distributed, troops of insurgents were to set out from each of the sections, preceded by banners inscribed CONSTITUTION OF 1793; the sound of the tocsin was expected to recruit their forces with great numbers of women and children, who were to march in disorder, under the guidance of the conspirators, with instructions to seize all the arms and instruments of offence they could find. When the legislature was dissolved, a convention was to be instituted, and the hall of the jacobins rebuilt at the expense and by the personal labour of those who had destroyed it; measures were taken for securing the co-operation of two camps established near Paris, and proclamations were to be dispatched to all the armies by extraordinary couriers.

Whatever appearance of formidable combination this conspiracy may present, it was, in reality, attended with little danger: the directory were apprized of all the circumstances and all the agents, and sent several messages to the councils, and issued proclamations indicating their intelligence, and forbidding alarm. They required from the legislature a declaration of the penalty to be incurred by those who should excite or maintain any assemblage, any individual belonging to

which should not retire on the first command of the constituted authorities, or of the armed force deputed by them. The councils took the message into immediate consideration, and declared that such culprits incurred pain of death, with a power, however, for the jury to recommend a change of their sentence to that of deportation.

Armed with this new power, and reinforced by the law against libellers, the directory permitted the conspirators to proceed till the eve of executing their project, when a proclamation appeared, detailing all its particulars. The conspirators were seized, seals put on their papers, a report made on their treason, and a court empowered to sit at Vendôme for the purpose of trying them. Several laws were also enacted for strengthening the hands of the directory, who, by pretending to submit to the legislature doubts on the manner of proceeding with respect to Drouet, obtained from them explicit acknowledgments of the extent of their authority, and a clear definition of the right given by the constitution to put upon their trial deputies taken *flagrante delicto*.

In examining the papers which were seized, many curious facts were discovered relative to the formation of the conspiracy, and many culprits were detected against whom no suspicion appeared to exist. Drouet protested his innocence in vain, and made unavailing efforts to account for his association with the conspirators; he was

ordered for trial, but found means to escape from the prison of the Abbaye. It is asserted by the partisans of the directory that they connived at his flight, through gratitude for his service in 1791, and pity of his sufferings during his confinement in Germany. The others were executed.

About this time an approach towards a negotiation with France was made on the part of Great Britain, by Mr. Wickham, ambassador to the Swiss Cantons; and on the 8th of March, a note was communicated to M. Barthelemy, ambassador from the French republic. It was asked, Whether France would be willing to send ministers to a congress, to negotiate peace with his Britannic Majesty and his allies? Whether France would be inclined to communicate the general grounds on which she would be willing to conclude peace, that his Majesty and his allies might consider them in concert? Lastly, whether France would desire to communicate any other mode of accomplishing a peace? Whatever answer should be returned was to be transmitted to the British court; but it was at the same time declared, that Mr. Wickham had no authority to discuss these subjects. An answer was returned on the 26th of the same month, by Barthelemy, in the name of the directory, complaining of the insincerity of the British court, as its ambassador had no authority

to negotiate, and that the proposal of a congress made negotiation endless. It stated the wish of the directory to obtain peace, but that no portion of territory would be relinquished, which formed part of the republic by the constitutional decree. To this note no reply was made; but it was complained of to the foreign ministers resident at the court of London, and considered as leaving Great Britain no other alternative than the prosecution of the war, at once both just and necessary.

During the winter season, the directory found means to reduce the western departments to proper subjection. The expedition from England had tempted the royalists once more to try their fortune in the field of battle; but after a number of defeats, their leaders Charette and Stofflet were apprehended, and put to death on the 29th of March, which tended to suppress the insurgents in every quarter. Domestic enemies being thus subdued, the republican government was enabled to make the more vigorous exertions on the frontiers. Their military force was divided into three armies; the army of the Sambre and Meuse under Jourdan was principally stationed about Dusseldorf and Coblentz; the army of the Rhine and Moselle, commanded by the celebrated general Moreau, stationed on the Upper Rhine, and from Landau to Treves; and the third army oc-

occupied the Italian coast from Nice towards Genoa, the command of which was bestowed on Buonaparte *.

* This singular individual, whose history presents such a series of remarkable vicissitudes, is said to have been born at Ajaccio in the island of Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769, though both the precise date and place of his birth have been somewhat controverted, as well as different accounts given of his paternal origin: leaving, however, such points which can reflect neither honour nor disgrace on the person whose unusual advancement at one time suggested the subject as a matter of important inquiry, it may be sufficient to state that his remarkable attachment to a military life appeared at a very early period, and that at the age of ten years he was placed at the public school of Brienne, through the recommendation of the Count de Marbeuf, his mother's well-known admirer, where he soon applied himself with diligence to the study of history, mathematics, and fortification. His habits at the school were so austere and gloomy, as to procure for him among the lads the reputation of a kind of savage; for he is said never to have mingled with them in their diversions, and by shewing himself pleased only when he could command, to have given early proof of that ambition which afterwards tended alike to his success and ruin. In 1784 Buonaparte quitted Brienne on a promotion to the military school of Paris, from whence he was soon after appointed a subaltern of artillery. After the breaking out of the revolution, he returned to Corsica (1790), where he remained three years, profiting of this leisure for the purpose of prosecuting still further his military studies.

The island of Corsica soon after this falling into the hands of the English, he quitted it for Toulon, to which place his

The war in Germany had been suspended by an armistice, one of the conditions of which was, that ten days' notice should be given of its termination; and this ceremony having been complied with on the part of the Austrians, hostilities began again on the 31st of May, 1796. Jourdan first made a movement on both banks of

family removed in 1793. Being called into service at Toulon under Barras, who became his patron, he so distinguished himself by his hardihood, that he was appointed general of artillery in the army of the south. After the French had again taken possession of Toulon, he repaired to Nice, where he was put under arrest as a terrorist on the fall of Robespierre, and in a moment of indignation solicited leave to quit the service and go to Constantinople, which being refused, he repaired to Paris for the purpose of representing his wrongs. Here he remained until the revolt of the 5th October, 1795: being second in command at this scene of blood under Barras, he was ordered to defend the convention, and in the very heart of the capital, he scattered slaughter and dismay on every side. To this sanguinary day he afterwards ascribed his rapid advancement; for Barras so much approved of the massacre which had been committed, that he procured for Buonaparte the chief command of the army of the interior. Barras also introduced him to his mistress, the Countess Beauharnois, a widow with several children, of whose society he appeared to have grown weary, and to whom his young friend Buonaparte was speedily married. These circumstances bringing him into notice, led to his appointment for the command of the army which was directed to overrun Italy.

the Lower Rhine, and several affairs of posts took place in the Hunsrück. On the right bank of the Rhine, where the imperialists were weakest, the French employed their principal force. Twenty thousand men only defended the Sieg, covered Ehrenbreitstein, and lined the right bank of the Rhine, between the Sieg and Lahn. This corps, commanded by the prince of Wurtemberg, was attacked by the army of the Sambre and Meuse under general Kleber, and compelled to retire behind the river to the strong position of Uckerath, with the loss of two thousand four hundred men. Before the prince was completely established in this post, the republicans endeavoured, by superior numbers, to outflank and turn him; but he fell back on Altenkirchen, where he was immediately attacked, and put to the rout, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon, part of his magazines, and three thousand men. The Austrians were thus compelled to retire behind the Lahn, leaving Ehrenbreitstein uncovered, which was immediately invested by the French.

The archduke Charles, sensible of the necessity of reinforcing the prince of Wurtemberg, renounced a diversion he was making in the palatinate and the Hunsrück, and directing his march towards Mentz, passed the Rhine, and having secured the defence of the Lahn, proceeded in person against the left wing of the French army, headed by general Lefebvre. The archduke

pushed forward with the utmost celerity to prevent a junction between Jourdan and Kleber, and made the right wing of his army pass the Lahn and the Dille at Wetzlaer. General Werneck, who commanded this division, attacked the French without success, till seven o'clock in the evening, June 15th; when a reinforcement having arrived, the archduke advanced, and surmounting great obstacles, gained a complete victory. The republicans in their retreat took another position equally strong with the former, but were again expelled, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon. The French corps which defended the Lower Lahn were obliged to fall back on the Sieg, pursued by the archduke, with the loss of all their provisions, artillery, waggons, and baggage.

While these events occurred on the Lower Rhine, Moreau commenced the campaign on the Upper Rhine, by two attacks on the position of Wurmser, on the 14th and 20th of June; but which produced no effect but that of confining the imperialists within their intrenched camp before the fort of the Rhine. Moreau, however, intended them only as feints; for, leaving a small force to watch the Austrian camp, he suddenly marched with a greater portion of his army towards Strasburgh, where preparations were making for an important enterprise.

In consequence of the loss of the Milanese, the

court of Vienna had determined to send marshal Wurmser into Italy with thirty thousand men; a resolution which the French had learned by means of their spies, before it was communicated to the imperial army, and formed their measures accordingly. The departure of thirty thousand troops from the Upper Rhine, created an opening which the archduke's expedition to the Lower Rhine would not permit him to fill up for some time; and Moreau, taking advantage of the critical moment, embarked three thousand men in boats, who landing on some small islands between Strasburgh and Fort Kehl, drove in the imperial piquets, who in their flight omitted to break down the bridges which communicate with the right bank of the Rhine. These the French passed, and suddenly attacked Kehl: the Suabian garrison, though assailed only by infantry, made no resistance; and the supineness of the troops in the neighbourhood afforded the republicans sufficient time to strengthen themselves in their new acquisition, as well as to establish a bridge of boats between Kehl and Strasburgh, and spread themselves over the plain, so as to defy any attack from Offenburgh or Rastadt. On receiving information of these events, Latour, the Austrian general, in conjunction with the prince de Condé, made great exertions to stop the progress of the republicans, but they were too late. Moreau, with eighty thousand men, occupied the best

chosen positions, and continued to gain advantages over the Suabians, from whom he took the mountain of Kniebis, and the town of Freydenstadt; while Dessaix, at the head of the left column of the French, defeated Latour at Renchen, and pushed forward to the city of Rastadt. Here Moreau, with a large reinforcement, joined Dessaix; and after a bloody engagement, which lasted the whole day, compelled the imperialists to retreat to Eslingen.

The archduke Charles, suspecting the intended movement of the French, left thirty thousand men under general Wartensleben, to cover the Lower Rhine; and having reinforced the garrisons of Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz, arrived with the rest of his army by forced marches on the banks of the Murg, at the moment when Latour was giving way to his opponents. But as soon as the archduke had quitted the Lower Rhine, the army of the Sambre and Meuse resumed offensive operations; Jourdan, passing the river near Nieuwied, surprised the Austrian general, Funck, and compelled Wartensleben to retire behind the Lahn, which the whole French army passed in three columns. In vain did Wartensleben oppose to their force all the efforts of skill and valour; he was unsuccessful in several engagements, and witnessed the capture of Fort Koenigstein, the irresistible advance of the republicans towards Frankfort; and finally, the capitulation of that

important town on the 11th of July. He could only hope for safety by retreating towards Wurtzburgh, in order to establish a communication with the army of the archduke.

That brave prince was apprized of the events which had followed his quitting the Lower Rhine; and, anticipating the consequences, saw no chance of avoiding the dangers of being placed between the victorious armies of Jourdan and Moreau, but by a battle; for which purpose he posted his right wing near the village of Durmersheim, his centre in front of Eslingen, and his left near the town and mountains of Frauenall. He wished to defer the encounter for three days, to give time for the arrival of reinforcements; but Moreau, penetrating his intentions, suddenly attacked his forces on all points, on the 9th of July, endeavouring to turn their left by getting round the mountains. After four repulses, the French succeeded in this object, and the imperialists were obliged to retreat towards Pfortzheim. The loss of men was nearly equal on both sides; but the republicans had the advantage of detaching the Austrians entirely from the banks of the Rhine, and from the fortified towns of Philipsburg and Mannheim, into both which, however, the archduke prudently threw strong garrisons.

After remaining at Pfortzheim four days, the archduke learnt that the French army were directing their march towards Stutgard; and there-

fore, in order to preserve his communication with the prince of Condé, removed his camp to a position near Vahingen, on the river Entz. The republicans still continuing to advance into the duchy of Wurtemberg, the archduke removed to Ludwisburg, and sent two small corps under general Baillet and prince John of Lichtenstein, to post themselves at Constadt and Eslingen. The French entered Stutgard the same day; and the archduke passed his army over the Neckar, and encamped at Feldbach; while the prince of Condé and general Frœlich were obliged to yield up the Brisgau and the country of the Black Forest, falling back to Sigmaringen, on the Danube. At the same time, general Wartensleben, continuing to give way before the numerous army of Jourdan, was retiring across Franconia, and on his arrival at Wurtzburg, found himself on a line with the front of the archduke; from which period the march of the respective armies became better combined.

The French constantly took advantage of their success by levying contributions; from Frankfort they received six millions of livres (262,500*l.*) in specie, and two millions (87,500*l.*) in provisions. The margrave of Baden, the duke of Wurtemberg, the circle of Suabia, and all the petty princes whose estates are comprehended in it, were obliged to purchase a suspension of arms at an enormous price. Their joint contribution amount-

ed to twenty-five millions of livres (1,093,750*l.*) twelve thousand horses, as many oxen, five hundred thousand quintals of wheat, rye, and oats, two hundred thousand pair of shoes, and an immense quantity of other necessaries. The king of Prussia also entered into a new treaty with the French; the conditions of which were concealed, but its nature appeared in the advantage which he took of the progress of their arms to seize certain territories in Germany, and particularly the suburbs of Nuremberg, under colour of some antiquated title. Spain also entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with France, which was afterwards followed up by a declaration of war against Great Britain.

Excepting a part of the mountains of Tyrol, three French armies, one under Jourdan, another under Moreau, and a third commanded by Buonaparte, now occupied the whole country reaching from the frontiers of Bohemia to the Adriatic sea. And, deserted by all the members of the coalition, except Great Britain, the emperor now experienced her liberality in the grant of a loan, which extricated him from present difficulties. Having thus the command of abundance of money, he was enabled to send one army after another to oppose Buonaparte in Italy, while he recruited his force in Germany by extensive levies, and by taking into his pay the troops of those states that had made peace with France.

The archduke, having received powerful reinforcements, resolved to make a stand, on the 11th of August, against Moreau, at Umenheim. A severe battle was fought, during seventeen hours, and one of the wings of the Austrian army, under general Riese, had succeeded in occupying four leagues of territory in the rear of the French army; but the archduke having received intelligence that Wartensleben could not maintain his ground against Jourdan, he thought it necessary to order a retreat, and to adopt new measures. He now conceived the bold project of leaving a small force to keep Moreau in check, while, with the main army he should fall on Jourdan, and overwhelm him with superior numbers. Having formed the necessary preparations, he recalled his troops from the other side of the Danube, burnt the bridge of Donauwert, and pressed forward on this expedition. Unexpected circumstances had obliged Wartensleben to retire from the town of Amberg to Schwartzfeld behind the Naab; and the archduke in consequence advancing more to the right than he had originally intended, arrived at Hemman. General Nauen-dorf attacked the French division under Bernadotte on the 22d of August, and drove them from the village of Teining. Hotze attacked and pursued them to Altdorf, while squadrons of Austrian cavalry and light infantry occupied the high road to Nuremberg. These judicious manœuvres

placed the archduke on the right flank of Jourdan's army, and he concerted measures for a general attack; but the French commander, apprized of Bernadotte's defeat, abandoned all his posts, and retired to Amberg on the 23d. The Austrians pursued, and compelled him to fall back to Sultzbach with the loss of nine hundred prisoners, and two battalions of his rear-guard cut to pieces.

General Nauendorf, with ten thousand men, was dispatched to reinforce Latour, and prevent Moreau from taking advantage of his reduced force, while the archduke prepared to expel Jourdan from Franconia. As a necessary preliminary, he sent general Hotze to Wurtzburg, who drove out the French garrison, and possessed himself of the citadel. Jourdan had been equally anxious to preserve this post, but arrived too late, and failed in a spirited attempt to expel the Austrians. His sense of honour, however, impelled him to risk a battle for the preservation of his conquests, and having selected a most advantageous position, he waited with firmness the approach of his opponent. The archduke, having thrown a bridge across the Mein, divided his army into three columns, the left commanded by general Sztarray, the centre by Wartensleben, and the right by Kray. Sztarray, who was first engaged, was brought into imminent danger by the delay of the other divisions in crossing the river; but, the archduke having ordered Wartensleben to ford

the Mein with all his cavalry, the timely execution of his command saved him from defeat. When the army had passed the river, a general charge was made, and the Austrians, penetrating through the woods with fixed bayonets, dislodged and drove the republicans in every direction. Jourdan lost two thousand killed and wounded, and upwards of three thousand prisoners, with ten pieces of cannon, and a vast number of baggage and provision waggons, while the loss of the Austrians did not exceed eight hundred men.

After this defeat, Jourdan retired to Hamelbourg, continuing his retreat towards the Upper Lahn, across the country of Fuld and Wetzlar. The archduke dispatched his right wing under general Kray, against Wetzlar, which the French abandoned. General Hotze, with the left, attempted to dislodge them from Weilburg, but without success. The archduke then prepared to attack their centre by a combined operation; but the French evacuated the towns of Dietz and Limbourg, and retired behind the Lahn. After many partial skirmishes, in one of which general Marceau was slain, two divisions of the French army passed the Rhine at Cologne, and the main body reached the intrenched camp before Dusseldorf. Thus ended Jourdan's famous retreat of more than three hundred miles in twenty-five days, during which he lost nearly half his army. Beurnonville was on this occasion promoted to

command the army in this quarter, instead of the brave, but unsuccessful Jourdan.

Moreau's army now isolated and cut off from that of Jourdan, was supposed to become an easy conquest. Many attacks were made upon him, but all of them without success; and the imperial generals were at last obliged to give way to him wherever he turned. In this interval the elector-palatine, terrified at his approach, obtained a treaty of peace, by which, in consideration of six millions of livres (437,500*l.*), three thousand three hundred horses, two hundred thousand quintals of grain, one hundred thousand sacks of oats, one hundred thousand pair of shoes, ten thousand pair of boots, thirty thousand ells of cloth, and twenty pictures to be selected from the galleries of Dusseldorf and Munich; Moreau sold to the elector a neutrality for his dominions in Bavaria, Franconia, and Westphalia.

Moreau, perceiving no probability of being joined either by the armies of Jourdan or Buonaparte, resolved to retreat towards the Rhine through Suabia. He had recrossed the Lech to prepare for this event; but he suddenly passed it again, as if determined to advance farther into Austria, and drove back general Latour as far as Landspurg. Having thus obtained freedom for his movements, he proceeded between the Danube and the lake of Constance. Latour, however, hung upon his rear. He also found the passes of

the Black Forest occupied by large bodies of Austrians, while generals Nauendorf and Petrarsch harassed his right flank with twenty-four thousand men; turning upon Latour, he totally defeated him, and took five thousand prisoners; whom he was able to carry to France. He now continued his retreat; his right wing under Desaix, keeping Nauendorf and Petrarsch in check, while the rest of the army cleared the passages in front, till he arrived at the *Val d'Enfer*, a narrow defile running between lofty mountains. After this desperate effort he reached Fribourg on the 13th of October, 1796; but was soon compelled by the archduke Charles, who had now arrived from the pursuit of Jourdan, to evacuate all his positions on the Suabian side of the Rhine, with the exception of Kehl, and a temporary fortification at Huningen.

The imperial troops, in the mean time, had taken advantage of the defenceless state of the French frontier to cross the Rhine at Mannheim, and to advance in various detachments to Weissemburg, Seltz, Hagenau, and almost to the gates of Strasburg. These detachments being now recalled, the archduke resolved to terminate the campaign by the capture of Kehl, and the fortification at Huningen. But this proved difficult. A great part of the winter was spent in fruitless attempts on the part of the Austrians, sometimes to take them by storm, and sometimes to reduce

them by a regular siege. Different sallies were made by the French, and immense numbers of men were lost on both sides by the sword, and by the severity of the season. It was not till the 10th of January, 1797, that the French agreed to evacuate Kehl; and the fortification at Huningen was not given up till the succeeding month.

The republican army in Italy, commanded by Buonaparte, and opposed by the Austrian general Beaulieu, amounted to about eighty-five thousand men. Buonaparte, on his arrival to take the command, found it poorly equipped, and the troops mutinous for want of necessaries. He addressed them, however, in the true style of military enterprise: "If we are to be vanquished, we have already too much; and if we conquer, we shall want nothing;" and ordered them to prepare for immediate action. The Austrian army under general Beaulieu is said to have more than equalled the French in number. To these were united the king of Sardinia's army under count Colli, of sixty thousand regular troops, besides the militia of the country, and a small body of Neapolitan cavalry, amounting to about two thousand five hundred men.

General Beaulieu made the first movement on the 9th of April, 1796, by attacking a post called Voltri, which the French possessed, within six leagues of Genoa. They defended themselves till the evening, and then retreated to Savona. Next

morning Beaulieu, at the head of fifteen thousand men, pressing upon the centre of the French army, was completely successful till one o'clock in the afternoon, when he reached a redoubt at Monténotte, which was the last of their intrenchments. This redoubt contained fifteen hundred French. Their commander, Rampon, prevailed with them, in a moment of enthusiasm, to swear that they would not surrender; and the consequence was, that they arrested the progress of Beaulieu for the remainder of the day. During the night, Buonaparte stationed his right wing under Laharpe, in the rear of the redoubt of Monténotte, which still held out, while he himself, with Massena, Berthier, and Salicetti, advanced by Altara, to take the Austrians on their flank and rear. Beaulieu, in the mean time, had received powerful reinforcements, and on the morning of the 11th renewed the attack on the French under Laharpe; but Massena soon advancing upon the flank of the Austrians and Sardinians, they gave way on all sides. Two of their generals, Roccavina and Argenteau, were wounded; and they lost two thousand five hundred prisoners.

On the 13th at day-break, the defiles of Millesimo were forced by the French general Augereau; and by a sudden movement, general Provera, at the head of fifteen hundred Austrian grenadiers, was surrounded; a circumstance which proved not a little embarrassing to the French army.

For this resolute officer, instead of surrendering, instantly retired to a ruined castle on the top of the mountain, and there intrenched himself. Augereau brought up his artillery, and spent many hours in attempting to dislodge him. At last he divided his troops into four columns, and endeavoured to carry Provera's intrenchments by storm. The French lost two generals, Banel and Quenin, and Joubert was wounded in this attempt, which proved unsuccessful. Provera passed the night in the midst of the French army, which had been prevented by his obstinate resistance from coming to battle. On the 14th the hostile armies faced each other, but a division of the French troops was still occupied in blockading Provera. The Austrians attempted to force the centre of the French, but without success. Massena, in the mean time, turned the left flank of their left wing near the village of Dego; while Laharpe, with his division in three close columns, turned the right flank of the same wing. One column kept in awe the centre of the Austrians, a second attacked the flank of their left wing, while the third column gained its rear. Thus was the left wing of the combined army completely surrounded and thrown into confusion. Eight thousand men were, on this occasion, taken prisoners, and general Provera at last surrendered.

These victories were not gained over a timid or an inactive adversary. On the morning after his

fatal defeat at Millesimo, Beaulieu made one of those spirited efforts which often retrieve and alter the fortune of war. At the head of seven thousand chosen Austrians, he attacked, at day-break, the village of Dego, where the French reposed in security after their success. He took the village; but the French, having rallied under Massena, spent the greater part of the day in attempting to retake it. They were thrice repulsed, and one of their generals, Causse, was killed. Towards evening, however, Buonaparte having brought up reinforcements, the post was retaken, and the Austrians retired with the loss of fourteen hundred made prisoners.

Buonaparte afterwards contrived to throw himself between the Austrian and Sardinian armies. By possessing the strong post of Dego, his right was secured against the efforts of Beaulieu, while he was enabled to act with the mass of his force against the Piedmontese. His enterprises in this quarter were facilitated by the exertions of Augereau, who had opened a communication with the valley of the Tanaro, where Serrurier's division was approaching the town of Ceva, and near which the Piedmontese had an intrenched camp defended by eight thousand men. On the 16th Augereau attacked the redoubts which covered this camp, which induced the Piedmontese to evacuate it in the night; and on the 17th Ceva was entered by Serrurier. Count Colli now retreated to cover

Turin; making choice, however, of the strongest posts, and fighting in them all. He was able, on the 20th, to repulse Serrurier; but on the 22d, Buonaparte, still pressing on the Piedmontese general, defeated him near Mondovi, and entered that place. The retreating army in vain made a stand, with its head-quarters at Fossano, and its wings at Coni and Cherasco. On the 25th Massena advanced against Cherasco, which was speedily evacuated; Fossano surrendered to Serrurier, and Alba to Augereau.

Previous to these last movements, however, count Colli, on the 23d of April, had written to Buonaparte, requesting an armistice, to allow the king of Sardinia an opportunity of negotiating a peace. The French army was now within twenty-six miles of Turin; and that prince saw himself suddenly reduced to the distressing alternative of being closely besieged in his capital, or of accepting such terms as the conqueror might think fit to impose. Buonaparte granted an armistice, on condition that the three fortresses of Coni, Ceva, and Tortona, should be delivered up to him, with their artillery and magazines, and that he should be allowed to cross the Po at Valentia. The armistice was signed on the 29th, and it was followed by a formal treaty with the French republic, concluded at Paris on the 17th of May. The conditions imposed on the fallen king of Sardinia were humiliating and severe. He surrendered to

France for ever the duchy of Savoy, and the counties of Nice, Jenda, and Breteuil. He gave an amnesty to all his subjects that were prosecuted for political opinions. He agreed that the French troops should have free access to Italy through his territory; and, in addition to the fortresses surrendered by the armistice, he gave up those of Exiles, Susa, Brunette, Assiette, Chateau Dauphin, and Alexandria, to be possessed by the French during the war; and they were authorized to levy military contributions in the territory occupied by them. He agreed to erect no works in future on the side of France, and to demolish the fortresses of Brunette and Susa.

In the mean time the republican army advanced towards the Po. Beaulieu was deceived by the article in the armistice which stipulated, that the French should be allowed to cross that river at Valentia, and made all his preparations for resistance in that quarter. Buonaparte laboured by every means to confirm this error; and while the Austrian general waited for him near Valentia, he advanced hastily into Lombardy, and had proceeded sixty miles to Placentia, where he arrived on the 7th of May, before the direction of his march was known. He immediately effected his passage without difficulty, there being only a small party of Austrian cavalry accidentally on the opposite bank, and they fled at his approach. Beaulieu in the mean while had sent, when too

late, a body of six thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, to prevent the French from passing the river; but Buonaparte, now on the same side of the river with themselves, met and defeated them on the 8th, at the village of Fombio. Another party of five thousand imperialists, advancing to the assistance of those at Fombio, was met at Codogno, and repulsed by Laharpe; but this officer was killed on the occasion. On the 9th Buonaparte granted an armistice to the duke of Parma, on condition of his paying a contribution of two millions of French money, (87,500*l.*) and delivering ten thousand quintals of wheat, five thousand quintals of oats, and two thousand oxen, for the use of the army. This prince also agreed to deliver up twenty of his best paintings, to be chosen by the French. Similar stipulations were ordered to be inserted in every future treaty; by which means the most valuable curiosities of Italy were transferable to the French capital.

Beaulieu, now driven from the Po, crossed the Adda, leaving some troops to defend the approaches to Lodi. The advanced guard of the French attacked these on the 10th, and drove them into the town; which was entered in such close pursuit, that the imperialists had not time to break down the bridge over the Adda. At the other end of the bridge the imperial army was drawn up, and thirty pieces of cannon defended the passage. The French generals, after a con-

sultation, agreed that it could not be forced. But Buonaparte having demanded of his grenadiers if they were willing to make the attempt, they applauded the proposal, and he formed them into a close column. Taking instant advantage of a cloud of smoke which issued from the cannon, they rushed along the bridge, about one hundred yards in length, and reached the middle of it before they were discovered. Here a general discharge from the Austrians at once destroyed seven hundred of the French. The grenadier column hesitated, and the carnage became terrible; but Massena, Berthier, Dallemagne, Cervoni, Lasnes, Dupat, and other officers, flying to its support, they urged on the soldiers, and pressing forward, broke into the ranks of the imperial army, which immediately gave way, and fled in all directions. This exploit has been much celebrated; and it had the effect of producing great national exultation.

Beaulieu, being obliged to retire up the Adda, recalled those troops which he had placed on the Ticino and at Milan, which city he evacuated, leaving only eighteen hundred men in the citadel; four thousand French, under Massena, took possession, and on the following day, May 12, Buonaparte made his triumphal entry. He imposed on Lombardy, as the price of their liberty, a contribution of twenty millions of livres (875,000*l.*), and obtained from the duke of Modena half that sum,

and twenty valuable pictures, for a suspension of arms.

Too weak to dispute any longer the possession of the Milanese, general Beaulieu thought only of covering Mantua, and keeping up his communication with Germany, for which purpose he took a good position on the Mincio; but Buonaparte having forced the passage of that river near Borghetto, and marched a column of his army towards Peschiera and Castelnovo, with the intention of cutting him off from the road to Verona and Trete, the Austrian general was obliged to give up all communication with Mantua, and retreat towards the Adige. Mantua was abundantly supplied with provisions, and M. de Beaulieu, after placing in it a garrison of twelve thousand men, had only fourteen thousand left, at the head of whom he effected a judicious retreat, traversing the states of Venice, and gaining the narrow passes of the Tyrol, where he made every disposition for a masterly defence.

The French, thus become masters of Italy, spread themselves in every direction. Terror and dismay went before them, and produced applications for an armistice from the king of Naples, and the pope. The territories of Naples being far from the scene of action, were not subjected to a contribution; ~~nothing~~ more was required but a separation of the troops of that country from those of the emperor. The pope, on the con-

trary, being within the grasp of the republicans, Buonaparte took from him Bologna, Ferrara, and fort Urbino, and the pontiff was promised further forbearance, on yielding to the French those places, and the citadel of Ancona, and on paying twenty-one millions of livres (918,750*l.*) a hundred paintings and two hundred of the most valuable manuscripts from the public library of Rome.

From the towns thus acquired the French obtained sufficient artillery and stores for the siege of Mantua; and, not content with the spoils of Rome, they plundered Milan, Pavia, Parma, and Placenza, of their choicest works. During these transactions, the French made themselves masters of the castle of Milan, which surrendered on the 29th of June.

The rapacity of the French soldiery, their insolent mockery of religious ceremonies, and above all their horrible violations of the persons of women, drove the inhabitants of conquered towns to a state of distraction, and a general insurrection was the consequence; the national cockade was trampled under foot, the trees of liberty were cut down, and the republicans found in small parties were massacred. At Milan, the people having risen against the French, general Despinoy, the commander, mounted his horse whilst some patrols put the populace to flight. The gate leading to Pavia was in the possession of the rebels, who

every moment expected assistance from the peasants to compel their submission; the French made a terrible charge upon them, and the example of a dreadful death restored tranquillity, but the city was given up to pillage for twenty-four hours.

The moment Buonaparte was informed of these proceedings, he hastened back with three hundred horse and a battalion of grenadiers. On his arrival at Milan, he ordered a great number of hostages to be arrested, and those persons to be shot who had been taken in arms, at the same time intimating to the archbishop, chapter, monks, and nobles, that they should be responsible for the public tranquillity. The municipality imposed a fine of three livres for every domestic discharged, and order being thus re-established at Milan, Buonaparte proceeded to Pavia.

The chief of brigade Lasnes, who commanded a moving column, attacked Binasco, which seven or eight hundred peasants seemed determined to defend; he charged them, and having killed about one hundred, dispersed the rest. Buonaparte ordered the village to be instantly burned, which exhibited a horrible spectacle, and as he says, extorted many a sigh from the general. He then summoned the archbishop of Milan, and sent him to Pavia with a proclamation requiring submission.

At day-break Buonaparte reached Pavia, when the advanced posts of the rebels were driven back.

The place was crowded with a multitude of people, and, in a state of defence, the castle was taken and the French troops were prisoners. The general ordered the artillery to advance, and after some discharges, summoned the insurgents to lay down their arms, and have recourse to French generosity; but they returned for answer, that while Pavia had walls they would not surrender.

General Damartin formed the sixth battalion of grenadiers in close column, with two eight pounders in their van, and each man having a hatchet in his hand; the gates were burst open, on which the immense multitude dispersed and took refuge in caves and on house-tops, attempting but in vain by throwing down tiles to dispute the entry of the troops into the streets. "Thrice," said Buonaparte, "had the order to set fire to the city been on my lips, when the garrison of the castle arrived and hastened with cries of joy to embrace their deliverers. Their names were called over, and none were found missing: if the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I had resolved to raise on the ruins of Pavia a column, on which these impressive words should be inscribed: 'Here stood the city of Pavia!'" Buonaparte ordered the whole municipality to be shot, and two hundred hostages to be arrested and sent immediately into France. The punishments of Buonaparte for insurrection were indeed tremendous: the village of Binasco burned, Milan

given up to pillage, and many of its principal inhabitants put to death; the municipality of Pavia, shot after the city had been taken, were terrible examples of his severity. Conflagration and bloodshed, it must be confessed, are no ordinary or ineffectual means of enforcing submission.

From the territories of the pope, Buonaparte advanced to Leghorn, in the neutral state of Tuscany, under pretence of driving out the English, and confiscating their property. By means of unusual speed and activity, the task assigned to Buonaparte was completed by the time the campaign upon the Rhine was begun. Mantua was still indeed in the hands of the imperialists; but it was blockaded, and all Italy was submissive to the mandates of France.

At the commencement of the French invasion of Germany, marshal Wurmser was sent into Italy to replace Beaulieu, who was removed from his command. On his arrival, he collected the wrecks of the Austrian army, and prepared, till he should receive reinforcements, to confine the French within as narrow limits as possible, by lines drawn from the lake of Garda to the river Adige. At the end of June, however, these lines were attacked and carried by Massena's division, which induced Wurmser to avoid farther exertion till he should receive a more adequate force. The first part of the month of July was spent by Buonaparte in pressing the siege of Mantua, which before

the close of that month he expected to capture. In this, however, he was deceived. Twenty thousand Austrian troops had been sent from the Rhine; and other reinforcements were marching towards Italy; so that Buonaparte, instead of being able to take Mantua, had to defend himself against the force of a superior army, that approached to raise the siege, and even threatened to drive him out of Italy.

Wurmser's troops descended from the Tyrol in two divisions. One half proceeded along the east side of the lake of Garda, and the other came by the west to cut off the retreat of the French, who were thus enclosed by the Austrians. On the 29th of July, Massena was driven from the strong post of La Corona, on the east of the lake, while, at the same time, fifteen thousand Austrians drove the French from Salo, and afterwards took Brescia, with all the magazines and hospitals of Buonaparte's army. There was a fatal error, however, in the general plan of operations formed by the imperialists. Their army united was an overmatch for the French; but they had voluntarily divided it into two weak parts, placing Buonaparte between them. The error was instantly discerned, and taken advantage of by their antagonist. On the night of the 30th, he suddenly raised the siege of Mantua, and on the 1st of August retook Brescia, with the magazines and hospitals. Having the mass of his army united, Buonaparte surpassed

his antagonists in numbers wherever he encountered them. He prepared to attack the imperialists on the 3d at Salo, Lonado, and Castiglione, but was anticipated by them. Having formed a large body of his troops into close columns, the Austrians, who were not aware of his mode of tactics, extended their line to surround them; a movement which enabled the republican columns to penetrate the imperial army in all directions, and throw it into complete disorder. The French took four thousand prisoners and twenty pieces of cannon.

On the 5th and 6th of August, Buonaparte attacked general Wurmser, and drove him from Peschiera and the river Mincio. On the 7th, the Austrians were compelled to quit Verona, and to retire once more to the mountains of Tyrol. This contest, which had lasted six days, cost the imperialists twenty thousand men, fifteen thousand of whom were made prisoners.

The king of France (Louis XVIII.), happened to be at Verona only a short period before it was assailed by the French. The senate of Venice was constrained to order him to quit their territories; and the podesta or messenger was dispatched to Verona with this decree. Preserving still his magnanimity and dignity in adversity, he informed the podesta, that, as a Venetian nobleman, he had an incontestable right to reside at Verona; but that he would leave the town, as

soon as the sword should be restored to him which Henry IV. had presented to the republic, and the golden book brought to him, that he might erase his name from the list of citizens. The podesta replied, that the senate, at his request, would without hesitation erase him from the list; but that, twelve millions being due to the republic from Henry IV., his sword would be kept in pledge until the restitution.

From Verona, Buonaparte thus wrote to the directory:—"I am just arrived at Verona, but intend to depart to-morrow. It is a large and fine town. I leave a garrison in it, to remain master of the three bridges which it has over the Adige. I have not concealed from the inhabitants, that had the king of France not evacuated the town before my passage of the Po, I should have set fire to a city so audacious as to think itself the capital of the French empire. I have just seen the amphitheatre: this remain of the Roman people is worthy of them. I could not but feel humbled at the comparative paltriness of our Champ de Mars. Here a hundred thousand spectators sat conveniently, and could easily hear an orator addressing them. The emigrants are flying from Italy. More than fifteen hundred withdrew five days before our arrival. They are hurrying into Germany with remorse and misery."

The French now commenced the siege of Man-

tua anew. The garrison in their absence had destroyed their works, and carried into the city one hundred and forty pieces of heavy cannon, which the French had left behind them, and had also procured a considerable quantity of provisions. The blockade was renewed; but Wurmser, having received reinforcements, was again enabled to attempt the relief of the place. Buonaparte, having information of his approach, left sufficient troops to keep up the blockade, while he advanced to meet him. On the 4th of September he came up with, and drove the Austrians from the passes of St. Marco, and the city of Roveredo, to the pass of Calliano, where they made their principal stand. Here a battle ensued, in which the French took six thousand prisoners, and entered Trent as conquerors.

Upon suffering this defeat, Wurmser adopted a measure which, in military manœuvres, cannot be too much applauded. Instead of retiring before the conqueror, who might have driven him to Inspruck, and arrived at a critical moment on the Danube, where Moreau had just commenced his retreat, he suddenly threw himself with his vanquished army into Bassano, upon the flank of Buonaparte, and then advanced by forced marches towards Mantua. He made a stand at Bassano on the 8th, but was defeated, and five thousand of his men were taken prisoners. But he had still a considerable body of troops. With these

he pushed forward ; and having encountered different divisions of the French at Cerea, Castellano, and Due Castelli, he effected the passage of the Adige at Porto Legnano, and entered Mantua with the wreck of his army, amounting to about four thousand infantry, and four thousand five hundred cavalry. In this enterprise he lost altogether twenty thousand men ; but the effect of it was, that it fixed Buonaparte in Italy, where he was obliged to remain watching and blockading the numerous garrison of Mantua. He hoped that its numbers would soon reduce it by famine to the necessity of a capitulation ; but in this he was deceived, as the flesh of the horses carried into it by Wurmser, afforded subsistence to the troops during a very long period.

The emperor now sent into the field a new army to attempt the relief of Mantua. In the beginning of November a part of it marched under the command of field-marshal Alvinzi, towards Vicenza on the east, seconded by general Davidovich, with another division from Tyrol. Alvinzi crossed the Piave ; but was met by the French, and compelled to repass that river. Davidovich, in the mean time, having succeeded in driving the French down the Adige towards Verona, Buonaparte was under the necessity of concentrating his forces. He now adopted his usual expedient of keeping one division of the enemy in check, while he contended with the

main body of his forces against the other. He left Vaubois with some troops to amuse Davidovich, while he advanced in person against Alvinzi, who was hastening towards Verona. He met the Austrians at the village of Arcole. To seize this post, which could not be easily turned on account of a canal, the French were under the necessity of passing a narrow bridge in the hottest fire of the Austrians. They made the attempt without success. Their officers rushed to the head of the column, and in vain attempted to rally the troops. Generals Verdier, Bon, Verne, and Lasnes, were carried off the field. Augereau then advanced with a standard to the foot of the bridge, but the troops would not follow him. At last Buonaparte, who in the mean time had sent Guieux with two thousand men to turn the village at two miles' distance, hastened to the bridge himself. Seizing a standard, he advanced at the head of the grenadiers, crying, "Follow your general." They followed him to within thirty yards of the bridge, when they were intimidated by the terrible fire of the Austrians, and their leader found it necessary to retire. Attempting to mount his horse to rally the column, lest the Austrians should advance, he was thrown into a morass, while still under the fire of the troops in the village; but here he again escaped, as the Austrians did not attempt to follow up their advantage. While Buonaparte was thus holding the imperial army

in check, the detached division succeeded in crossing the Adige lower down; they made an extensive circuit, attacked the village on a weak point during the night, and made themselves masters of it, with five pieces of cannon, and four hundred men.

Alvinzi, advancing with all his forces on the points menaced, promoted the views of Buonaparte, by removing still further from Davidovich; the French, on his approach, evacuated the village of Arcole, and during the two following days severe and bloody battles were fought, which still terminated to the disadvantage of the Austrians, who were compelled to retire in disorder to Bonifacio. The conflict was so obstinate, that fifteen French generals were killed or wounded, and all had their clothes pierced with bullets.

The Austrians retired to Vicenza, but the French were too much enfeebled to pursue them with vigour; and Davidovich speedily deprived them of many advantages of their late victories, by attacking general Vaubois on the Upper Adige, and driving him with great slaughter to Peschiera. Davidovich had by these means advanced within a few leagues of Mantua, when Buonaparte, alarmed at his success, joined Vaubois, and attacked him on the heights of Campara, where Davidovich, being greatly inferior in force, made little resistance, but retired to Alla. The expedition for the relief of Mantua was thus com-

pletely frustrated, by the astonishing activity and promptitude of Buonaparte in attacking each division separately, and preventing their junction. The garrison was, however, supplied with provisions in consequence of a vigorous sortie made by Wurmser; and the remainder of the year passed away without any other important conflict.

Buonaparte was still engaged in the blockade of Mantua, while the Austrian government was making vast efforts to recruit the army of Alvinzi after its defeat at Arcole, and to enable that general to make a last and desperate effort for the relief of Mantua. The young men of Vienna were urged to give their assistance on this important occasion, and six thousand of them marched into Italy as volunteers. Alvinzi's army now amounted to nearly fifty thousand men; and he commenced his operations on the 8th of January, 1797, by skirmishing along the whole of the French line, from Porto Legnago upwards, to La Corona, near the Lake Garda. On the 10th, Buonaparte was at Bologna, taking precautions against the escape of Wurmser by that quarter, which, from an intercepted letter, he had learned was in contemplation. But being informed of the approach of the Austrians, he hastened to Mantua, and from thence to Verona, which was the centre of the line of his army that opposed Alvinzi. He arrived at Verona on the morning of the 12th; but as the Austrians continued to make

their attacks upon different quarters at once, he was unable to penetrate the design of their leader. On the 13th, the efforts of the Austrians began to assume a formidable aspect on the lower part of his line near Porto Legnago; but on the evening of the same day, he received intelligence that the upper extremity of his line, where Joubert commanded, had been attacked by such an immense superiority of numbers, that there could be no doubt that the mass of the imperial troops was concentrated there. The post of La Corona had been forced, and Joubert compelled to withdraw to Rivoli, which he also abandoned.

The Austrians still persisted in their unfortunate plan of dividing their army, that they might have two chances of success. Ten thousand chosen troops, among whom were the Vienna volunteers, were destined under general Provera to penetrate to Mantua by Porto Legnago, at the lower extremity of the French line; while Alvinzi in person advanced with the main army against Joubert at its other extremity. Buonaparte, in the mean time, left Verona in the evening of the 13th, having ordered the whole centre of his army under Massena, to follow him to the neighbourhood of Rivoli. Here he spent the night in arranging the order of battle for next day, and in occupying strong positions. At day-break of the 14th, the attack was begun by Joubert's division, to the no small surprise of the imperialists,

who were not aware of the arrival of Buonaparte with reinforcements. The battle, however, was long and obstinate. The superiority of numbers on the side of the Austrians enabled them to defeat all the efforts of the French to turn their divisions. They also succeeded in driving back upon the centre the two wings of the French army in considerable disorder. Alvinzi now attacked the centre, which scarcely maintained its position; and the Austrian wings advancing on both sides, completely surrounded the French army. The victory seemed already won; and it is said that Alvinzi dispatched a courier to Vienna to announce the approaching capture of Buonaparte and his army. The situation of the republican chief was certainly alarming; but from the nature of his order of battle, his troops had rather been concentrated than scattered by the repulse they had received, and it was therefore still in his power to make a desperate effort. Having formed three strong columns, he sent them against the Austrian right wing. They succeeded in penetrating it at different points; and it fled in such confusion, that having encountered a party of French that had not arrived in time to join the body of the army, four thousand Austrians laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Night put an end to any further contest in this part, when Buonaparte instantly flew to oppose general Provera,

leaving Joubert to prosecute the victory he had so far gained. This service he performed with great address. A detachment under Murat, having marched all the night of the 14th after the battle, seized Montebaldo in the rear of the position at Corona, to which a considerable division of the Austrians had retreated, while Joubert, next morning, attacked them in front. Finding themselves thus surrounded, they fell into confusion: six thousand were made prisoners, many were drowned in attempting to cross the Adige, and the remainder fled into the Tyrol.

During this sanguinary contest on the upper part of the Adige, Provera had forced his passage across the lower part of that river at Angiara, and compelled Guieux to retire to Ronco. Augereau collected all the troops in the neighbourhood, and marched to attack Provera; but as he hastened towards Mantua, Augereau could only come up with his rear; of which, after an engagement, he took two thousand prisoners. On the 15th, however, Provera arrived in the vicinity of Mantua. The city, which stands on a lake, was blockaded at the two points by which it has access to the main land, called St. George and La Favorite. Alvinzi was to have formed his junction with Provera at the post of St. George. Receiving no intelligence of him, general Provera summoned the French commander here to surrender; and on his refusal, endeavoured to carry

the position by assault. Having failed in this attempt, he turned his attention towards the post of La Favorite, which he attacked on the morning of the 16th; while Wurmser, who had perceived his arrival, advanced with the troops of the garrison against the same point. But by this time Buonaparte had arrived with reinforcements. Wurmser was repulsed, and Provera being completely surrounded by the French, was under the necessity of surrendering his army prisoners of war. The result of all these battles was the capture of twenty-three thousand prisoners, and sixty pieces of cannon; and thus four imperial armies had perished in Italy, in the attempt to preserve Mantua. The capture of this city, however, was now inevitable, in consequence of famine. It surrendered by capitulation on the 2d of February, 1797. Buonaparte on this occasion endeavoured to acquire the reputation of humanity. To allow the French emigrants in the garrison to escape, he consented to an article in the capitulation, that general Wurmser should be allowed to select and carry out of the garrison seven hundred men, who were not to be examined nor considered as prisoners; and the general himself was allowed to depart unconditionally.

In the mean while, the pope, who of all the European princes had the greatest reason for disliking the French cause, incautiously persevered

in hostility, in the hope that some of the imperial armies might succeed in driving Buonaparte from Italy. Having recovered from the panic which induced him to solicit an armistice when the French first entered Lombardy, he had avoided concluding a treaty of peace, and attempted to enter into a close alliance with the court of Vienna. He procured officers to be sent from thence to take the command of his troops, and flattered himself with the vain hope of being able to make an important diversion in favour of the Austrian troops.

As the emperor and the French were both preparing to renew the contest on the frontiers of Germany, it was of importance to Buonaparte to leave Italy completely conquered in his rear. On the 1st of February he sent a division of his army under Victor, along with the Lombard legion, consisting of Italians, to enter the territory of the pope: and, upon the surrender of Mantua, Buonaparte followed in person. The troops of the apostolic see made feeble resistance. The new raised Lombard legion was made to try its valour against them on the river Senis on the 2d. After storming their entrenchments, it took their cannon and one thousand prisoners. Urbino, Ancona, and Loretto, successively fell an easy prey. From the chapel at Loretto, the papal general, Colli, had carried most of the treasure;

but the French still found gold and silver articles worth one million of livres, and the image of the virgin was conveyed as a curiosity to Paris.

Buonaparte now proceeded through Macerata to Tolentino. He was here met by a messenger from the pope with offers of peace; and he concluded a treaty with him on the 19th of February, 1797. By this treaty the pope gave up to the French, Avignon, the Comtat, Venaissin, the duchies of Bologna and Ferrara, and the legation of Romagna; agreed to pay fifteen millions of livres (656,250*l.*), besides the twenty-one millions stipulated in the armistice, of which five millions only had been paid; the French were to retain possession of the citadel of Ancona till a general peace should be established on the continent, and likewise of the provinces of Macerata, Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, till the whole thirty-six millions should be paid. They also confirmed the articles which stipulated the gift of the statues, pictures, and manuscripts. Having effected this grand purpose, Buonaparte next employed himself in laying under contribution the grand duke of Tuscany, and the republic of Venice. Thus the French made the entire conquest of Italy at the expense of the neutral powers; and during the tremendous conflict, the Austrians are said to have lost seventy-five thousand men, and the republicans sixty thousand.

The advantages obtained by the French in this

quarter may be thus summed up. Piedmont invaded, and the king of Sardinia forced to an ignominious peace; Lombardy conquered; both banks of the Po republicanised; the king of Naples detached from the coalition; the pope deprived of nearly one-third of his dominions; all the north of Italy a prey to the miseries of war, and to political convulsions; that country, but lately so rich and flourishing, robbed of its wealth and splendour; and a hundred millions of livres (4,375,000*l.*) extorted from the different countries under pretext of purchasing peace, ransom, or neutrality.

The rapid success of Buonaparte in Italy, contributed to the restoration of Corsica to France. The fickleness of the Corsicans had given the utmost uneasiness to sir Gilbert Elliot, the British viceroy; and the extravagant expectations of the people had occasioned much unpleasant correspondence from the moment the island was annexed to the British crown: but when Buonaparte was acquiring such splendid honours in Italy, his countrymen could no longer resist the pride of glorying in his fame, and of attaching themselves to his fortunes. Paoli was obliged again to seek refuge in London; and the English agreed to evacuate the island, which the French took possession of, December 22, 1796.

In the West Indies the progress of events had also been favourable to the French. The

English were divested of St. Lucie, St. Vincent's, and part of Grenada, and the maroons of Jamaica were incited to insurrection. St. Eustatius, which had been taken from the Dutch, was recaptured; fort Tiburon in St. Domingo yielded, after a brave resistance, to three armed vessels; and the French were unsuccessful only in an attempt on Dominica. To meet this exigency, the British ministry prepared a powerful armament under admiral sir Hugh Christian, and placed on board a respectable land force, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie. A tempestuous winter prevented the sailing of this squadron till spring, when its operations were mostly successful. St. Lucie was recaptured after a vigorous resistance; St. Vincent's yielded with less difficulty; and the rebellion in Grenada was crushed, though not without a dreadful loss of lives, the brigands having murdered all the white people in their power, and then retired to the woods, where they were exterminated by riflemen.

Holland too, which had declared war against Great Britain, suffered as an ally of France in this quarter of the globe. Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, with a vast quantity of produce, were conquered by a naval force under captain Parr, and a military detachment under major-general Whyte, in September, 1796. The progress of British exertion was, however, checked by the

prevalence of that disorder so dreadfully mortal, called the yellow fever: Guadaloupe still remained in the hands of the republicans, and some advantages gained in St. Domingo did not make amends for the multitudes swept away by this contagious malady. But not in the West Indies alone did Holland suffer; in the East her most valuable possessions were wrested from her. In 1795, Ceylon and Cochin yielded to the English force; and the Cape of Good Hope was also captured. In the ensuing year, Batavia and Amboyna, and the rest of the Molucca Isles, fell into the power of England. The Cape of Good Hope the Dutch wished eagerly to recover; and for this purpose they sent a squadron of seven ships of war, under admiral Lucas, to attempt to reconquer that middle station between Europe and India; but Lucas being no match for the British squadron, the Dutch fleet, without firing a gun, was delivered up to the British admiral.

Notwithstanding the superiority of Great Britain by sea, the French, towards the close of this year, attempted an invasion of Ireland; but the plan was ill concerted, and unsuccessful. The whole conduct of it was intrusted to general Hoche. Eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, twelve sloops, and some transports, having twenty-five thousand troops on board, were employed on this expedition. The fleet sailed on the 10th of December, 1796; but a ship of the line was lost in

going out of Brest, and others were damaged. The frigate in which the commander in chief had embarked, was separated from the fleet in a gale of wind; the consequence was, that when the greater part of the fleet arrived at Bantry-bay on the west coast of Ireland, no one had instructions how to proceed. The troops and their officers wished to land, but the admiral, Bouvet, refused to comply with their request. Having remained several days upon the coast, he sailed for France, and arrived at Brest with a part of the fleet on the 31st of December. General Hoche did not reach Bantry-bay till it was too late, and therefore could not land. The fleet suffered great losses in its return. One ship of the line and two frigates foundered at sea, a frigate was taken by the British, and a ship of the line, after an engagement with two British ships, was run ashore to prevent her being captured.

During these transactions, Great Britain had entered into a correspondence with France; and lord Malmesbury arrived at Paris, and began the negotiation with Delacroix, the minister for foreign affairs. Lord Malmesbury proposed, that the principle of mutual restitutions should be agreed upon as the basis of the treaty. After much altercation the directory agreed to the general principle of mutual restitutions, and required that the objects of these should be specified. Accordingly, the British ambassador proposed, in two

memorials, that France should relinquish the Austrian Netherlands, and offered to give up the French foreign settlements in return. An offer was also made to restore a great part of the Dutch foreign possessions, on condition that the stadtholder's ancient authority should be acknowledged in that country. But the directory would agree to no conditions contrary to what they called the French constitution; and it was added, that his lordship's farther residence at Paris was unnecessary.

The intemperate petulance and fondness for war which the directory at this time displayed, though calamitous in its consequences, was not at all surprising; successive factions had stained France with crimes so as to render the clamours of war necessary to her in order to dissipate reflection; and to foster this delirium was, doubtless, considered prudent in a momentary and precarious government.

CHAPTER VII.

Campaign of 1797.—Successes of the French.—Preliminaries signed at Leoben.—Army of the Rhine.—Peace ratified.—State of Paris.—Divisions in the Directory.—Conspiracy.—Carnot and Barthelemy expelled.—Merlin and François de Neufchateau elected.—Deportation of the subdued Party.

HAVING been hitherto so unsuccessful in their attempts on Germany, it was now determined that, in commencing the campaign of 1797, the French army should advance from the side of Italy under Buonaparte; and accordingly the best veteran troops who had served under Moreau, were dispatched as secretly as possible through Savoy into Italy. Aware of the approaching danger, the court of Vienna gave the command of its army to the archduke Charles, who brought with him his best troops from the Rhine; and he was also further supported by numerous levies from the hereditary states.

The war thus assuming a new shape, was carried into a territory where the house of Austria had scarcely ever seen a foe; and it was necessary in order to this that the French should once more

scale the summit of the Alps. This immense chain of mountains, which takes its rise in the vicinity of Toulon, at first stretches northward under the names of Piedmont and Savoy. It then runs towards the east, into the countries of Switzerland, Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola. The three last of these, passing along the head of the Adriatic, form the frontier of the hereditary states of Austria. Between the mountains and the sea, lies the level tract of territory which belonged to Venice. It is crossed by many large streams, which are fed by the melting snows of the Alps; whence their nature is, that they are greatest in summer, and their waters diminish during the frosts of winter.

While Buonaparte was securing the territory of Italy, the Austrian army was arranging itself along the eastern bank of the Piave. The French were on the opposite bank, and Buonaparte hastened to join them after he had concluded his treaty with the pope. The beginning of March, 1797, was spent in preparations; but at last the republican troops advanced, and having crossed the Piave on the 12th of March, the Austrians retired, skirmishing for some days till they had crossed the Tagliamento, where they made a stand with their whole force. Early on the 17th the French arrived at Valvasone, on the opposite bank; and after some hesitation, resolved to force the passage of the river. To have accomplished

this object would have been difficult, had not a recent frost diminished the stream, by which means the French were enabled to cross it in the face of the enemy in columns, at various points. The army of Buonaparte was now in three divisions. Joubert, with the left wing, advanced along the course of the Adige into Tyrol, and was ordered to cross over from thence, and to descend along the valley of the river Drave, which is beyond the highest chain of what the Romans called the Noric Alps. Massena, with the centre, after crossing the Tagliamento, advanced into the defiles of these mountains; while the right division, commanded by Buonaparte, proceeded along the coast of the Adriatic. After forcing the passage of the Tagliamento on the 17th, the French soon defeated the Austrians on the opposite bank, and compelled them every where to retreat. The other rivers were easily passed, and on the 19th, the town of Gradisca, on the river Lisonzo, surrendered to the right wing of the army; and its garrison, amounting to three thousand men, were made prisoners of war. The right of the French having forded the Lisonzo, near Cossegliano, while their left, under Massena, advanced to Ponteba, the archduke fell back to Vippach.

While Buonaparte thus finished the conquest of Friuli, and drove the imperialists into the hereditary states, Joubert, whom he left in the country

of Trent and Tyrol, was now ready to co-operate in the plan of invasion. The French troops which occupied the banks of the Adige as far as Lavis, attacked the Austrians under Kerpen and Loudon, who, being far inferior in number, were defeated with great loss. While retreating along the right bank of the Adige, Loudon was again attacked near Tramen, and though he bravely disputed the ground, again defeated, and prevented from joining Kerpen and the main body of the army at Botzen. Kerpen, finding that Joubert was gaining on his flanks, retired from Botzen to Clauzen, whence, after a long and obstinate encounter, he was obliged to retreat, and take a position near Sterzingen, the last and strongest post in the Tyrol on the side of Italy.

The army of the archduke being entirely separated from that of Kerpen, Buonaparte rapidly advanced into the hereditary states, penetrating into Germany by a road which had not been trod by the French since the days of Charlemagne. The Austrians having evacuated Goritia after the republicans had passed the Lisonzo, Buonaparte marched to that town, while his right proceeded towards Trieste; and on his left general Guyeux and Massena advanced, the one from Cividale to Chiavoretto, and the other to Austrian Ponteba, or Pontaffel. Massena was ordered to gain the two passes leading from Friuli into Carinthia across the Alps, to turn the right of the archduke,

and prevent his receiving reinforcements from the Rhine; and even to advance before him on the road leading from Clagenfurt to Vienna.

The archduke, however, anticipating this design, formed the bold plan of turning the left of the French, and attacking them in flank. He accordingly united his left and centre, and ordered a division to hasten by forced marches, and to be joined by several battalions and squadrons from the Rhine. The success of this judicious plan was frustrated by the precipitation of general Ocskay, who, abandoning the defile of Pontaffel, enabled the French to possess themselves of Tarvis, which commanded the road by which two columns under Gontreuil and Bayalich, the artillery of reserve and baggage, were expected to arrive. To re-open this important communication, the archduke directed Gontreuil and Bayalich to attack the French at Tarvis. Gontreuil drove them from the village of Safnitz, which gave time for the artillery of reserve to arrive; but was afterwards obliged to abandon this position, after having defended himself during the greatest part of the day with less than three thousand men, against upwards of ten thousand: it is even thought that he would have maintained his post, had not Massena received reinforcements, while those expected under Bayalich and Ocskay did not appear. The archduke arrived during the conflict, and exposed himself to the greatest

danger ; count Wratislaw was wounded, as was Gontreuil himself. In consequence of Ocskay's having abandoned the defile of Pontaffel, the column which was proceeding to join Gontreuil got entangled in the mountains, between the divisions of Massena and Guyeux, and were nearly all made prisoners.

Having thus failed in preventing the French from penetrating into the hereditary states, the archduke hoped to make them repent of the invasion. He divided his army into three corps, one of which, under general Seckendorf, occupied the road to Laybach, and defended Carniola and the valley of the Save ; the centre, commanded by Mercantin, protected the valley of the Drave and Clagenfurth ; and the third, under the prince de Reuss and general Kaim, was to defend Styria, and check the progress of the left wing of the French upon the road to St. Veit, and in the valley of the Muehr. In the mean time Buonaparte's right wing seized Trieste, his centre advanced upon the Save, and his left to Villach upon the Drave, where it was reinforced by the divisions under Guyeux and Serrurier. This corps, consisting of thirty thousand men, led by Massena, after obtaining a slight advantage over the Austrian rear-guard, took possession of Clagenfurth on the 30th of March, while general Seckendorf evacuated Laybach, which was instantly occupied by Bernadotte.

The archduke was now compelled to retire towards the capital, which was seriously menaced, and in which great consternation prevailed. In fifteen days Buonaparte had taken twenty thousand prisoners, and crossed the Alps; and though the country still presented some difficulties, there was no fortified place capable of resisting his progress towards Vienna. The republican chief did not, however, consider his own situation as destitute of hazard, and therefore seized the moment of unbounded success to make proposals of peace. On the 31st he sent a note to the archduke, in which he deprecated the prolongation of the war, and intreated him to interpose his good offices to put a stop to its farther ravages. But this prince, doubting even his own influence at the court of Vienna, returned for answer, that he had no powers to negotiate.

Buonaparte now, in order to abate the ardour of the people in defence of their sovereign, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Carinthia, inviting them to amity, promising to protect their religion and property. He then marched from Clagenfurth to St. Veit, resolving to attack the archduke while yet inferior to him in numbers, and prevent the junction of a body of troops from Suabia. The imperial general, having concentrated his right and centre, marched to Friesach, but abandoned it on the approach of the French, though his rear-guard fought with

great bravery; and on the ensuing day they defended with equal valour the defile leading from Freisach to Neumarkt, which was ineffectually assailed by Massena. The archduke maintained these contests chiefly to gain time for general Spork to join him with reinforcements from Saltzburgh; and having secured the desired communication, he retired in the night to Hundsmarkt, still pursued by Buonaparte, who compelled him to retire successively to Judenburgh, Knittefeld, and Vorderernberg. Buonaparte, occupying all the places abandoned by the imperialists, soon became master of Carinthia, and entered into Styria, while his right wing advanced through Carniola upon the two banks of the Save, covered by small detachments which kept pace with it in Istria. On Buonaparte's arrival at Joudenbourg, April 7th, he was met by generals Bellegarde and Meerfeldt, who had full powers to treat for a suspension of arms; and, after a conference, an armistice was concluded for six days, by which the French were put in possession of a considerable tract of ground; their centre extending to Bruck, their right wing between Fiume and Trieste, and their left to Lientz.

As the terms of this truce included the armies of the Tyrol, it may be necessary to resume the detail of their operations. General Kerpen still maintained the strong post of Sterzingen, while Loudon retired to Meran; but although the Austrians

possessed some local advantages, the inferiority of their forces rendered the occupation of their posts extremely precarious. These difficulties were, in some measure, removed by the zeal of the Tyroleans, twenty thousand of whom, at the instigation of count Lehrbach, rose *en masse*, and ranged themselves under the standards of Loudon and Kerpen. Joubert had united his forces between Brixen and Botzen, so as to maintain a communication with Buonaparte, and secure himself from the attack of the Austrians in the archbishopric of Saltzburg.

While these operations detained the French at Brixen and upon the Adige, general Loudon, at the head of fifteen thousand men, attacked their out-posts between Meran and Botzen; and, having gained some ground, renewed the assault on the ensuing day, and compelled them to evacuate Botzen. Having, by this success, inspired the Tyroleans with confidence, Loudon advanced part of his troops to Deutchenoffen and Branzol, and, bringing the remainder on the rear of the French, drove them from Clausen and Steben, while Kerpen expelled them from Brixen with considerable loss. After retreating along the valleys of the Adige and Puster to Lientz, the French were joined by a corps of cavalry sent by Buonaparte to guard the valley of the Drave, and to establish a communication between the armies of the Tyrol

and Carinthia. Kerpen, however, fixed his headquarters at Prunecken, and pushed his advanced posts as far as Lientz, while Joubert took positions constantly connected with the main army.

While the French were thus driven from the German Tyrol, Loudon routed another division near Lavis, driving them successively upon Trente, Roveredo, Torbola, and Riva, on the lake of Garda, and compelling them to seek refuge in the citadel of Verona. The Venetians also, not expecting the approach of peace, but hoping that the Austrian general would make further progress, took up arms against the republican troops that remained in their country; and being joined by ten regiments of Slavonians in the pay of Venice, they put the French to death wherever they were found, without excepting the sick in the hospitals. These cruelties afterwards occasioned the dissolution of the Venetian republic.

A party of imperialists also drove the French garrison out of Trieste, and thus attempted to surround the invading army. Bonaparte, however, knew that the court of Vienna must be at least as much embarrassed as himself. His army amounted to ninety-five thousand men. It had hitherto proved irresistible; and conquest had increased its energies. He therefore persisted in advancing, till he compelled the Austrian cabinet to treat for peace. On the 18th of April the armistice

was renewed. It was followed on the 19th by a preliminary treaty, signed at Leoben; by which it was agreed that the Austrian Netherlands should belong to France, and that the republic in Lombardy should assume the name of the *Cisalpine Republic*, which should include the duchy of Mantua, and the territories of Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna. There is reason to suspect that something hostile to the independence of Venice was here also stipulated. Buonaparte agreed to withdraw without delay into Italy, on receiving subsistence for his army during its march; and it was resolved, that all farther disputes should be afterwards settled by a definitive treaty of peace.

Before the consequences of this treaty are detailed, it will be proper to recite the progress of the campaign on the Rhine. After the capture of fort Kehl and Huningen, the French were driven from the right bank of the river, which again separated the armies of the Austrians and Moreau. The Austrian army consisted of one hundred thousand men, occupying the Rhine from Basle to the Sieg, including the garrisons of Philipsburg, Mannheim, Mentz, and Ehrenbreitstein, the fort of the Rhine before Mannheim, and some posts on the Seltz and Nahe in front of Mentz. General Latour, commanding on the Upper Rhine, was opposed by Moreau; and general Werneck, on the Lower, by Hoche, who

had assumed the command instead of Bournonville. The French had collectively about one hundred and fifty thousand men, who lined the banks of the Rhine, and guarded the fortresses from Huningen to Landau; garrisoned the strong holds of the Sare and Moselle, occupied a part of the Palatinate, the whole duchy of Deux Ponts, and nearly all the Hundsruok: they had also posts upon the Nahe, and from the mouth of that river edged the left bank of the Rhine as far as Cologne, and the right bank from that town to Dusseldorf. This position was much superior to that of the Austrians, either for attack or defence, which with their greater numbers, gave the French a decided advantage over their opponents.

Hoche crossed the Rhine at Neuwied on the 18th of April, and drew up on the plain within reach of the canon of the Austrians, who were posted between the villages of Hettersdorf and Bendorf. They were strongly entrenched, and defended by good redoubts, but had only six thousand men to oppose thirty-five thousand; Werneck being in the mountains between Altkirchen and Hachenburg with the main body of the army. General Kray, apprized of the armistice concluded at Judenburg the 7th of April, requested a similar suspension of hostilities to save the effusion of blood; but Hoche, less correctly informed, rejected the proposal, unless the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, and the whole course

of the Lahn were put in his possession: these terms were refused, and Kray, consulting his courage rather than his force, commenced the combat by a brisk cannonade, which was vigorously returned by the horse artillery of the French; who now resolutely assailed the intrenchments, and, after an obstinate resistance, entered the two villages, when their cavalry completed the victory. Hoche pursued the Austrians, some to Montabaner, and some to Dierdorf; where, having obtained reinforcements, they made a stand, but were driven from both. Meanwhile Hoche's left, consisting of twenty-five thousand men under Championet, marched in two divisions upon Ucherath and Altenkirchen. The Austrian corps warmly disputed the ground, though they were compelled to abandon it. These successes and the vast superiority of numbers on the side of the French, rendered it impossible that Werneck could any longer maintain his position in front of the Lahn.

Moreau, in the mean while, was not less successful, though he had more difficulties to encounter. On quitting his cantonments, April 19, he marched towards the Rhine, and began to force the passage: with fifteen thousand men, divided into three columns, under Jordis, d'Avoust, and Duhem. They were vigorously resisted; but by perseverance they passed over all their force, and a most obstinate and bloody battle ensued. Vic-

tory was for some time on the side of the Austrians, till night stopped the effusion of blood; and in that interval the French established a bridge of boats, brought over artillery, ammunition, and fresh troops, and before morning were sufficiently strong to defy their antagonists.

The Austrians having been also reinforced to eighteen thousand men, commenced a vigorous attack; but were repulsed by the superior numbers and enthusiastic valour of the republicans. The French now obtained possession of the causeway which leads from Kehl to Stolhoffen, and overran the plain, where their cavalry completed the defeat of the Austrians, taking four thousand prisoners, besides part of their artillery. On the same day the French, without firing a shot, obtained possession of Kehl, which but a few months before had maintained so noble a defence, and which the Austrians maintained at the expense of so much blood and treasure. The French advanced in all directions, and obtained possession of Stolhoffen, Freydenstadt, Hasleeh, and Ettenheim, when their progress was stopped by messengers sent through Germany by the archduke Charles and Buonaparte, announcing that peace was concluded. These messengers found the army of Hoche violently attacking Frankfort on the Maine, which general Werneck was endeavouring to defend. The news was diffused in an instant through both armies; and the contending

troops, throwing aside their weapons, congratulated each other upon the event.

With regard to territory, France had now acquired a most elevated rank among the nations of Europe. Spain, Italy, and Holland, were held in dependence; while her victorious armies had compelled the last continental member of the coalition to accept of peace from an army that menaced his capital. Of all the adversaries of the French revolution, England alone remained in hostility. From her command over the ocean she was enabled, indeed, to retain the feeble state of Portugal attached to her cause; but on land, such was the uncommon success of France, that, with this exception, the British trading vessels were liable to be excluded, by her influence, from all approaches to the continent, from the Elbe to the Adriatic.

But in the midst of these extraordinary successes abroad, the interior was little less agitated than at the most alarming periods of the revolution. The directory possessed neither the confidence nor the respect of the people; their councils were divided by separate views, and by mutual distrust and contempt; while the dread of new revolutions, and the immediate terror of military force, alone appeared to prevent some violent explosion. The directory, fully sensible of the dangers to which they were exposed, saw with alarm the approach of the period when, by the new constitution, the

people must meet in primary assemblies to choose anew a third part of the representatives, and when one of the five directors should quit his situation by lot.

After several debates on the manner in which lots should be drawn to create the vacancy, the question was brought to a decision on the 19th of May. Letourneur was then voted out of the directory. On the 20th, the new third took their seats in the councils, a third of their predecessors having evacuated theirs by lot. But the election of the members of the new third had almost entirely fallen upon men who were understood to be hostile to the directory. Among the new members were generals Jourdan and Pichegru; the latter of whom was elected president of the council of five hundred; and the ancients hailed his nomination with expressions of respect for his military talents and virtues. They had also chosen as president, Barbé Marbois.

The council of five hundred now proposed a list from which to select a new member of the directory; and Barthelemy, ambassador to the Swiss cantons, was selected in the council of ancients by a great majority. The people of Switzerland shewed their last tokens of affection and respect, by escorting him with military honours to the frontier, where a triumphal arch was erected, inscribed, "To the pacificator of Europe." On the road he avoided the honours prepared for him by

the people of France; and having reached Paris in a private manner, was installed, received the fraternal embrace from his new colleagues, and expressed, in an animated speech, his earnest wishes for peace; to which Carnot, then president of the directory, made a suitable reply. These two members of the directory were decidedly inclined to peace; the other three were for continuing on the war.

The distraction of government was soon at the highest pitch: the new elections, by giving seats to some men of greater abilities than had before been chosen, and of characters comparatively superior, afforded foundation to a strong and popular opposition, who censured public proceedings with a freedom which tyranny could ill endure, and a force which made oppression tremble and meditate revenge. The debates which ensued in the council of five hundred afforded considerable information on the measures and conduct of the directory: it was proved that they had obtained the disposal of ninety-seven millions, (4,243,750*l.*) besides at least twenty millions (975,000*l.*) received in contributions, under pretence that they should thus be enabled to make peace. The army of Italy, far from being an incumbrance, had sent supplies to the exchequer; the expense of the army of the north was almost entirely defrayed by the Batavian republic; and those of the Sambre and Meuse, and

Rhine and Moselle, were chiefly supported in the conquered countries: yet, in the midst of these advantageous circumstances, the most pressing difficulties were experienced, and the directory were ever complaining of the distress of the treasury. These clamours arose from an infamous speculation in the modes of expenditure, and a thriftless distribution of the funds intended for payment. The army-list was said to contain fifty thousand men to be paid, clothed, and accoutred, more than had ever been really enrolled; and the military hospitals charged for patients who had never entered their walls, or who had long been dead: "and this," said Dupont de Nemours, who was stating the facts, "is only a corner lifted up of the curtain which conceals these enormities." On this lavish expenditure, he observed, that while large sums were issued for the opera, the conservatory of music, the riding-school at Versailles, and squandered on manufactories of arms no longer wanting, and on buildings of mere ornament, the directory had sent to the councils an alarming message on the state of the hospitals, affirming, that out of three hundred and fifty foundlings, three hundred had died for want of absolute necessities.

These spirited contests at length brought the majority of the directory and of the councils into a state of complete hostility. Both parties resolved to violate the constitution under the pre-

tence of preserving it. The one wished to change the directory before the time prescribed by law, and the other to deprive of their seats a great number of the new legislators elected by the people. Barras was the most obnoxious of the directors; and an attempt was made to deprive him of his office, upon the footing that he was less than forty years of age. Had not force been speedily used on the side of the directory, the councils must naturally have prevailed. The majority of the people confided in them. The national purse was in their hands; and they hoped to subdue the directory, as the constituent assembly had done the king, by avoiding to vote the necessary supplies. They could enact what laws they pleased. They had not indeed the command of the armies; but to remedy their weakness in this respect, Pichegru, on the 20th of July, presented a plan for re-organizing the national guard, and placing it more at the disposal of the councils, by depriving the directory of the nomination of the officers.

In the mean time the directory was by no means deficient in providing for its security. At length the partisans of the two contending powers began to distinguish themselves in Paris by their dress, and every thing presaged an approaching convulsion. On the 20th of July the councils received intelligence that a division of the army of general Hoche had advanced within a few

leagues of Paris ; whereas, by the constitution, the directory incurred the penalty of ten years' imprisonment if it authorized troops to approach nearer to the residence of the legislative body than twelve leagues, without its own consent. An explanation of this event was immediately demanded. The directory denied that they had ordered the march, and ascribed it to a mistake of the officer by whom it was conducted. Their explanation was treated with contempt, and much angry debate took place in the councils concerning it ; the directory all the while conducting themselves with much seeming moderation, and even submissiveness. Yet in a few days the council were rendered still more sensible of their danger, by an authenticated report that Hoche was at Rheims with twenty-seven thousand men, and that it was their intention to march to Paris to annihilate the legislative body, which was inimical to peace, and wished to destroy the government. Intimations were given of an intention to move for an impeachment of some of the directors ; but it was apparent that timidity, hesitation, variety of views, and want of mutual confidence, would prevent the adoption of the only mode of conduct which could, in the present state of affairs, tend to the advantage of the opposition.

On the festival of the 10th of August, the council of five hundred declared their sentiments, and refuted the calumnies advanced against them. The

president said, they were animated only by the desire of peace ; and it was decreed that the armed citizens who, on the 10th of August, 1792, vanquished royalty, had deserved well of the country. A message was received the same day from the directory, charging the march of the troops to Ferte-Alais entirely on Hoche, denying the distribution of arms, and excusing the addresses of the army of Italy.

This message was by both councils referred to a committee : in the ancients the report was made by Tronçon Ducoudray, who was selected for the task on account of his acknowledged moderation and talents. He gave a full detail of the conduct of the directory and armies ; shewing, in many instances, their inconsistency with the letter and spirit of the constitution ; though he was not hasty in imputing evil intentions, and paid every respect to the bravery and services of the military. He disproved the accusation that the opposition party wished to retard peace ; and shewed how unfounded were the complaints of the directory that the operations of government had been impeded for want of supplies, by exhibiting a table of the sums intrusted to them within the space of one-and-twenty months. He concluded by recommending general reconciliation and forgetfulness of the past, but reprobated the oath administered to the army of Italy of implacable war against the enemies of the republic and of the constitution.

Thibaudeau made a report equally argumentative, though more warm, to the council of five hundred ; and concluded by recommending two laws : one charging the public accuser to prosecute all plots, machinations, and generally all offences against the legislative body, the executive directory, and each of their component members ; the other declaring penalties against the military who should deliberate or perform collective acts.

Before any decision could take place with respect to these propositions, the three directors who had resolved to overturn by force all the impediments raised by the constitution against arbitrary power, obtained a new advantage, by the expiration of the term for which Carnot was allowed to be president of their body. This office entitled its possessor to hold the seal of state, and to speak the sentiments of government on all public occasions : Carnot had exercised these rights with great moderation ; but Lareveilliere, who succeeded on the 27th of August, at the expiration of his three months, shewed a contrary disposition. In speeches which he made to Visconti, plenipotentiary from the Cisalpine republic, and to general Bernadotte, who brought trophies from the army of Italy, he launched out into general abuse against the opponents of government ; accusing them, without reserve, of intending to annihilate the new republic, disgrace Buonaparte, and re-establish the throne. To

these attacks the council of five hundred seemed highly sensible; but, in fact, they had not among themselves any principle of common concord, nor did they repose in any one of their associates sufficient confidence to intrust to him the directions of their operations. The laws proposed by Thibaudeau were discussed with much warmth, and produced a great portion of personal altercation; but although the constitution was more visibly and daringly violated than before, by drawing troops still nearer to Paris, general debates were still maintained, and no vigorous effort adopted.

The sitting of the 3d of September terminated in perfect tranquillity; and the motion on Thibaudeau's report was adjourned to the next day, a day in which the existing legislature was doomed to undergo a total alteration in its constitution and members. Many of the opposition party, sensible of the perils which awaited them, had proposed bringing forward a decree of accusation against the three directors; while others, judging the period too much advanced for such a proceeding, proposed marching to the palace, arresting, and putting them to death, and then publishing to the people of France a statement of their motives; but these measures were overruled by the more moderate party.

Carnot and Barthelemy, already apprized that a grand commotion was to take place, though

they did not know the exact moment, attended, for the last time, a sitting of the directory, where their adversaries were fully prepared to finish a plot which they had meditated ever since the last elections. Carnot was not, however, negligent of his own safety: he had prepared a private way to quit his apartments in the palace; and being apprized, by repeated messages from the triumvirate, to ascertain whether he was within, that their plot was ripe for execution, he hastened to make his escape, and had but just reached the garden when an officer sent to arrest him was breaking down his door with an axe. He found the palace surrounded, and the garden filled with armed men, whom with difficulty he avoided; and as he was closing the last door of the fatal precinct, he heard the firing of the alarm gun, the signal for the military to act according to their instructions. Carnot effectually secured his retreat, and reached a foreign country; but Barras, enraged at his escape, went with a party of guards, and himself arrested Barthelemy. Having so far executed the first portion of their project, the triumvirate proceeded to other operations. Augereau had been sent from Italy under pretence of presenting some Austrian standards to the directory, and he was employed as their tool upon this occasion. They commanded the garrison of Paris, and they had managed to bring over to their interest the soldiers composing the

guard of the two councils. Before day-break, on the morning of the 4th, Augereau surrounded the Thuilleries with a division of the troops. The guard of the councils refused to resist, and their commander, Ramel, was taken prisoner. Having entered the hall, he found Pichegru and other twelve of the chiefs of the opposite party sitting in consultation, and immediately sent them prisoners to the Temple. Some other obnoxious members of the councils were also put under arrest.

All this was accomplished without noise, and in an instant. Many members of the councils, when they came to the hall at the usual hour, were surprised to find that seals were put upon the doors, and that they could not obtain admittance. They were invited, however, to go to the surgeons' hall and the theatre of the Odeon, where they were told the directory had appointed the councils to assemble. At these places, about forty of the council of ancients, and double that number of the other council, assembled about noon, and sent to demand from the directory an account of the proceedings of the morning. They received an answer, declaring, that what had been done was necessary to the salvation of the republic, and congratulating the councils on their escape from the machinations of royalists.

This party had, previously to the explosion of their mine, prepared proclamations to the people

of Paris, declaring the existence of a plot to re-establish royalty, and directing that every individual who should be found demanding a king, the constitution of 1793, or proclaiming the duke of Orleans, should be instantly shot, according to law. The minority of the council of five hundred sitting on the stage at the Odeon, while the boxes were filled with people instructed to applaud their proceedings, formed a committee of five, consisting of Sieyes, Poulain-Grandpré, Villiers, Chazal, and Boulay de la Meurthe; voted thanks to the directory for saving the country; and empowered them to permit the entrance within the constitutional circle of as many troops as they should judge necessary for the defence of the constitution and the republic, against royalism and anarchy: they then declared the sitting permanent, but suspended further proceedings till six in the evening.

While the sittings were suspended, the three triumphant members of the directory proceeded in arresting those whom they considered dangerous to their authority, or whom, in compliance with the feelings of either individual, the other two concurred in declaring enemies to the state. In the evening Boulay de la Meurthe, from the committee of five, presented a report on the late events; in which, after assuming the old revolutionary principle, that the state of the times forbade methodical and profound discussions, but

required vigorous and prompt exertion, he imputed to the two directors and the members of the late opposition a long series of political crimes, beginning with that of impeding the conclusion of peace, and terminating with that of intending to convert all France into an extensive La Vendée. He then detailed the patriotic views of the triumphant faction; declared their aversion to bloodshed; observed that deportation must in future be the great means of salvation to the state, and the penalty to be incurred by all the irreconcilable enemies of liberty and the republic; and intimated that such must be the punishment inflicted on the present conspirators, but the place of their destination must be left to the discretion of the directory.

Poulain-Grandpré and Villiers next occupied the tribune, and read drafts of laws annulling the elections in forty-nine departments, and ordering the deportation of forty members of the council of five hundred, including generals Pichegru and Willot, Dumolard, Boissy, d'Anglas, Henry Lavière, Camille Jourdan, and Pastoret; eleven of the council of ancients, among whom were Barbé, Marbois, Lafond-Ladebat, and Tronçon du Courdray. Carnot and Barthelemy were included in the list, as were Brothier, Lavilleheurnois, and Duverne de Presle, though condemned by one tribunal to a less severe punishment, and waiting for trial before another; generals Miranda and

Morgan, whose crimes no one could conjecture; and Ramel, of the nature of whose offence no man entertained a doubt. The fate of all these victims was rendered additionally cruel by the sequestration of their property, till accounts should be received of their arrival at a place to be appointed by the directory; the council boasted of this proceeding as an act of mercy, though it prevented the prisoners from procuring even the most common necessities for their comfort and accommodation in the voyage they were afterwards doomed to make. During the ensuing days the private vengeance of the directors added considerable numbers to the list of sacrifices. Barthelemy, and the imprisoned deputies, were removed from the Temple in cages of iron, mounted on carriages used for the conveyance of wild beasts, and began their journey to the coast of Guiana, without time or means to make the slightest preparation for their removal.

Merlin and François de Neufchateau were elected in lieu of the expelled directors, and government prepared to exercise their new powers with revolutionary vigour, and apparent hopes of success. As a proof how highly they estimated their triumph, they decreed that it should be annually observed as a festival; they repealed the laws lately enacted in favour of the disaffected clergy and the relations of emigrants; and even so far abolished the liberty of the press, as to put

all periodical publications under the inspection of the police for one year. New taxes were voted without hesitation; and other affairs conducted in their ordinary train. All this time the city of Paris remained tranquil. That turbulent spirit which had made so many sanguinary efforts in favour of what is accounted the cause of freedom, had been so completely subdued since its struggle on the 5th of October, that it now permitted the national representation to be violated, and the most obvious rules of practical liberty to be infringed, without one effort in their defence.

The directory, in the mean time, attempted to justify their conduct to the nation at large, by publishing various documents intended to prove the existence of a royalist conspiracy. The most remarkable of these was a paper, said to be written by M. d'Antraigues, and found by Buonaparte at Venice; in which a detail was given of a correspondence between Pichegru and the prince of Condé in 1795. The correspondence itself was also, at the same time, said to be found by Moreau, among papers taken by him at the late passage of the Rhine. It stated, that Pichegru had offered to the prince of Condé, to cross the Rhine with his army, and having joined the Austrians under Wurmser, and the emigrants under the prince of Condé, to return with the united armies and march to Paris, where they were to re-establish royalty. The prince is said to have refused to accept of the

offer, from jealousy of the participation of the Austrians in the honour of the transaction. He therefore insisted that it should be conducted without their aid; but Pichegru thought the attempt too hazardous in this form, and being soon after removed from his command, the project failed. At the time of its publication, the genuineness of this correspondence, and also of the paper found by Buonaparte, was denied; and nothing has appeared since to induce an opinion to the contrary. This series of transactions is called from the day on which the principal events occurred, *la revolution du 18 Fructidor*, (4th September.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Negotiations.—Naval Engagements.—Overthrow of the Pope's Government.—Sanguinary Attack on Switzerland.—Expedition against Egypt.—Battle of the Nile.—Hostilities commenced by the King of Naples.—Flight of that Court.—Proceedings of the Lazzaroni.—Unpopular Character of the Directory.

THE directory was now very powerful, but its members soon became giddy, and seemed to act under the dangerous conviction, that there was nothing in which they might not venture to engage, whatever might be the rapacity or ambition attached to it. While contending with the councils, they prolonged the negotiations with lord Malmesbury, acting in a similar manner respecting those which had been entered into between Buonaparte and the imperial ambassadors at Campo Formio. Great Britain offered to make peace with France, if permitted to retain possession of the Cape of Good Hope, together with the Spanish island of Trinidad. The negotiations with the emperor were speedily terminated, and on the 17th of October a definitive treaty was signed at Campo Formio. The Netherlands

were given up to the republic, the Milanese to the Cisalpine republic, and his territories in the Brisgaw to the duke of Modena, to compensate for the loss of his duchy in Italy. It was likewise agreed by the emperor that the French should possess the Venetian islands in the Levant, namely, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Cerigo, and others. The emperor was to have the city of Venice with its remaining territory, from the extremity of Dalmatia, as far as the Adige and the lake Garda. The Austrians accordingly left the Rhine, by which means the republicans were enabled to surround Mentz and Ehrenbreitstein, the former of which was captured in a short time, but the latter required a very tedious blockade before it would surrender. Venice was at the same time entered by the Austrians, the French having left it, and Buonaparte, when about to march out of Italy, left twenty-five thousand men to garrison Mantua, Brescia, Milan, and some other places, and to preserve this new republic in a state of dependence upon France.

It was said that the directory about this time endeavoured to force America to purchase a forbearance from war by a large sum of money together with a private present of 50,000*l.* to the members of the directory. The last part of this charge was denied by the minister Talleyrand, but the general impression it produced could not

be effaced, and the directory was thus very much injured in the estimation of such countries as were otherwise disposed to view it in a very favourable light. To lessen its reputation still more, it caused the councils to pass two laws, by which all neutral ships on their way to England, or returning from it, should be liable to be seized. This, however, produced an effect very different from that which was intended ; for having put all the trade of the western world into the power of the British, they enriched the very people whom they meant to ruin. Great Britain at this time held the empire of the seas in such an eminent, and perhaps it may be said, unprecedented degree, that the republican fleets lay blockaded in their own ports during the greater part of the year. The expedition against Ireland having completely failed, the directory was at a loss how to dispose of the galley slaves who had made a part of Hoche's army destined against that country. It would have been cruel to remand them back to punishment ; the troops would not serve with them in the army, and by the new laws of France they could not receive a pardon, neither was it prudent to give so many criminals liberty. Thus perplexed, the directory at last determined to send them over to England. They were landed from two frigates and some small vessels on the coast of Wales, with muskets and ammunition, but destitute of artillery. On the evening of the

day on which they landed (23d of February), they were made prisoners of war by a party of militia, yeomanry cavalry, colliers and others, under the command of Lord Cawdor.

Although the navy of France continued in port, and therefore out of danger for the remainder of this year, yet the Dutch and Spanish allies of that country sustained very serious losses by sea. A Spanish fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, opposed to a British fleet of only fifteen sail, under the gallant admiral Sir John Jervis, was completely defeated on the 14th of February, off Cape St. Vincent. The British admiral passed twice through the enemy's line, and cut off part of their fleet from the rest. Four ships were taken, and the admiral's own ship made her escape with considerable difficulty. This fleet was on its way to Brest in order to effect a junction with the French fleet, but Jervis's victory rendered this object unattainable. In consequence of this memorable victory, sir John was created earl St. Vincent, and had an annuity of 2000*l.* settled upon him, receiving at the same time the thanks of both houses of parliament.

The Dutch, if possible, were still more unfortunate, admiral Duncan having blocked up the Texel where their fleet lay, during the whole summer, with the assistance of which it appears that the French meant to try the fate of another attack upon Ireland. A resolution having at

length been adopted of risking an engagement with the British at sea, De Winter received positive orders to sail, a step against which he remonstrated, but without effect. Admiral Duncan was at this time refitting at Yarmouth, but on receiving intelligence of the sailing of the Dutch fleet, he set out in search of, and came up with, it on the 11th of October, consisting of a force rather inferior to his own fleet, which amounted to sixteen sail of the line and three frigates. The British admiral ran his fleet immediately through the Dutch line, commencing the attack between them and their own coast, about nine miles from Camperdown. As the Dutch are desperate warriors by sea, it naturally proved a sanguinary conflict. It lasted for three hours, at which time the greater part of the Dutch fleet had struck; but owing to the shallowness of the water on the coast they could not all be seized. Eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six and one of forty-four guns, were taken, besides a frigate afterwards lost near the British coast. Admiral De Winter was captured with his ship, and vice-admiral Rentjies. Admiral Duncan received honours similar to those which were bestowed upon earl St Vincent, and an annuity to the same amount.

After the ratification of the treaty with the emperor at Campo Formio, Joseph Buonaparte, one of the brothers of the general, was sent to the

city of Rome as plenipotentiary from the French republic. The pope having now no expectation of foreign assistance, submitted to every demand, for the reduction of his troops, and for emancipating every person confined in prison on account of their political sentiments. On the 26th of December, 1797, three men waited upon the ambassador, and requested the co-operation of France in bringing about a revolution which a party at Rome was anxious to establish. He rejected the proposal, and did every thing in his power to dissuade them from it; but he neglected to communicate the intelligence to the papal government. He went to the secretary of state on the 28th, and shewed him a list of persons under his protection who had a legal authority to wear the French cockade, and consented at the same time that all others wearing it should be punished. He offered to give up six of the insurgents who had taken refuge in the palace. In the evening of the 28th a more serious tumult happened in the courts and vicinity of the French ambassador's palace, with which the pope, it is believed, was not personally acquainted; but the governor of the city endeavoured to disperse the insurgents by parties of cavalry and infantry. General Duphot, in attempting to make the military desist from firing upon the insurgents, was shot by a petty officer belonging to the pope's troops. The ambassador and his other friends now made their escape to the palace through a

by-way. The Spanish ambassador having been informed of this event, sent to the secretary of state, and protested against such a daring violation of the privileges of plenipotentiaries. The palace of the French ambassador was still surrounded by the military, when at last he demanded passports to enable him to leave the papal territories, which were soon granted, and accompanied by many protestations of the innocence of government, and its sorrow that such an unfortunate event should have taken place.

Joseph Buonaparte went to Florence and from thence to Paris. The protection of Vienna, Spain, Naples, and Tuscany, was earnestly solicited by the pope, but they all seemed disposed to keep at a distance from him. General Berthier experienced little or no opposition on his march to Rome, where he subverted the papal dominion, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Roman people, with too many marks of wanton, unprovoked insult. The tree of liberty was planted on the very day on which the anniversary of the pope's election to the sovereignty was celebrated; intended, no doubt, to make him feel still greater mortification. While in the Sistine chapel receiving the congratulations of the cardinals, the commissioner-general, and Cervoni, who commanded the troops within the city during this ceremony, entered the chapel, and announced to the pontiff on his throne, that his reign was at an end.

He was removed to the territory of Tuscany, where he dwelt in great obscurity, till his enemies being in their turn driven from Rome, were pleased to remove him farther from the capital, to terminate his existence beyond the Alps.

The greatest curiosities found in Rome were conveyed to Paris, and sold by public auction, the directory having sacrificed national vanity at the shrine of avarice. Passports were offered to the natives of countries at war with France, if they inclined to become purchasers.

But scenes of a different and more sanguinary nature were in the mean time exhibited in Switzerland, a country which had preserved its neutrality during the conflict of France with the combined powers, thus defending the weakest part of her frontiers, and now as a grateful return for past favours, it was determined to subjugate this people. About the end of the year 1797, an insurrection broke out in the Pays de Vaud, subject to the canton of Berne, which made the government perceive its critical situation, and issue a proclamation on the 5th of January, 1798, requiring the people of the Pays de Vaud to appear in arms, renew their oath of allegiance, and reform every existing abuse. A commission of the senate at Berne was empowered to examine all complaints, and redress every grievance; but their motions were considered as too tardy by popular impatience, and the insurgents endeavoured to

become masters of the strong places. Troops were sent against them by the government of Berne, but general Weiss acted with hesitation, if not even with treachery, and a body of republicans appeared under general Menard, who sent an aid-de-camp and two hussars to general Weiss. As the messengers returned, one of the hussars was killed, most probably by accident, but it was instantly magnified into a horrid breach of the law of nations. The French, therefore, continued to advance, and were masters of the whole Pays de Vaud by the end of January. The government of Berne prepared for war, while it at the same time used every effort in order to maintain peace. A truce was entered into with general Brune, the successor of Menard, and those who killed the hussar were delivered up. An army of twenty thousand men was collected, the command of which was given to M. d'Erlach, once a field marshal in the service of France. But there was a prevailing disaffection in his army, and the people were far from being united among themselves. With this circumstance the French were well acquainted, and therefore they demanded a total change of government. As M. d'Erlach was apprehensive of a still greater defection in his army, he requested permission to put an end to the armistice. The French now refused to negotiate, and general Schawenberg on the 2d of March took possession of Soleure at the head of thirteen

thousand men. Brune afterwards made himself master of Friburg, and forced the Swiss army to retreat. The government of Berne being now greatly alarmed, decreed the *landsturm*, or rising of the people in a mass, which their ancient customs justified in the time of necessity. The people assembled, dissolved the government, and offered to dismiss the army, if the republican troops would retire. This offer was rejected, without admitting a French garrison into Berne, and therefore they continued to advance. About six thousand from the army of M. d'Erlach had deserted, leaving him at the head of no more than fourteen thousand men; and although the rising had abundantly supplied him with numbers, yet he had not time sufficient to get them properly arranged. He was attacked on the 5th of March, and driven from Newenbeg and Favenbrun, but having rallied his troops, he made a stand for some time at Uteren. The conflict was renewed at Grauholtz, from whence they were driven four miles nearer the capital. Being completely defeated, they murdered many of their officers in a fit of despair, among whom was their commander in chief. Berne capitulated to the French, which induced the more wealthy and populous states to follow the example; but the poorer cantons made a dreadful effort to preserve their small possessions, and the independence of their country. They compelled Schawenberg to retire with the

loss of three thousand men, but were at last totally vanquished by the superior skill and numbers of the republican army. The public magazines were plundered, and a new constitution was forced upon them after the model of that of France.

If the directory made no scruple to violate the independence of other nations, it was very reasonable to conclude that they would pay little regard to the liberties of their countrymen at home. A third of the legislature was changed in the month of April; one member of the directory went out by ballot, and Treilhard was chosen to succeed him. Nothing was left unattempted by the directory to influence the election in favour of their friends, but their success was not great. They complained to the council of five hundred on the 2d of May of plots of royalists, by which it was said that elections had been made to fall on men who were inimical to the interest of the republic. It was proposed on the 7th by the committee who reported on the message of the directory, that many electoral assemblies should be annulled; but general Jourdan opposed this plan as incompatible with the freedom of election, and as proceeding upon the supposition of conspiracies which had no existence.

The most extravagant project which perhaps the directory ever attempted to execute, was to send a formidable army to take possession of

Egypt, and from thence to proceed by the Red Sea to the East Indies, in order to gain possession of the British settlements in that quarter of the globe. Whether this plan was of Buonaparte's own devising, or intended as a snare in order to get rid of him and his victorious army, seems to be a matter not easily determined. If it were not his project, he might have accepted the command of the army of Egypt from this conviction, that he would be safer abroad in the most perilous undertaking, than exposed at home to the malice of a government become jealous of his reputation, and which was far from being scrupulous of its conduct.

In order to conceal more effectually the real object of this expedition, the empirical governors of the day, whose steps were not of the open, honest, and sincere, but of the shallow, the short-sighted, and the crafty kind, announced it as designed for the invasion of England, and addressed a proclamation to the people, which contained, among others, the following ridiculous passages: "It is at London that the calamities of Europe are fabricated—it is there that we must put an end to them. Crown at length your exploits by an invasion of the island whither your ancestors carried slavery under William the Conqueror, and take back thither the genius of liberty which must land there at the same moment with the French. A lawless enemy has repelled in fact all the overtures which could alone tend to pacification. You

know this enemy; your indignation fixes on and points him out by name—it is the cabinet of St. James's—it is the most corrupting and the most corrupted of the governments of Europe—it is the English government—the great nation will avenge the universe, and for that purpose, Frenchmen! more means than one present themselves to you, the most worthy and the most ready is a descent upon England. Then let the army of England go and dictate terms of peace in London!—Go, gallant republicans! second the unanimous wish of the nation—go, and restore the liberty of the seas!”

So completely did this stratagem succeed, that it was believed by many that the invasion of England was really to be attempted. But whatever sagacity might be exerted in conjectures respecting the destination of the French fleet, which, including transports, amounted to upwards of four hundred sail, nothing certain could be learnt: the troops sent for embarkation were called the right wing of the army of England; but the squadron being assembled in the port of Toulon, and the collection of *savans*, of printing-presses, and various other implements of science, demonstrated that its destination was for some other land. At length (May 4th, 1798), Buonaparte repaired to Toulon for the purpose of taking the command, and, as a preparatory measure, published a kind of military harangue in form of

a proclamation, reminding his soldiers of their numerous victories on mountains, in plains, and before fortified places, and that nothing now remained for them to achieve but maritime conquests; they would now, he said, even exceed their former exertions for the prosperity of their country, *the good of mankind*, and their own glory!

In a fortnight after this publication, the fleet sailed, and soon arrived at Malta, the grand-master of which island had long been bribed, and prepared for its surrender. Buonaparte commenced a farce of provoking hostilities, by demanding permission to water his squadron; an indirect refusal being conveyed, the military were disembarked, and, after two days of pretended resistance, a capitulation was signed, yielding the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Cumino, to France. Some ridiculous stipulations were made for obtaining indemnities for the grand-master at the congress of Rastadt, and for assigning to each of the knights a paltry pension of seven hundred livres (30*l.* 12*s.*). Buonaparte, as usual, accommodated the new acquisition with a constitution on the French model, and having plundered the island, again proceeded towards his final destination.

No sooner had the French set sail from Toulon, than a British squadron of fourteen sail of the line, commanded by admiral Nelson, who had long been watching their operations, and had been

prevented by various accidents from discovering their precise track, commenced a vigilant pursuit. After failing in several other inquiries, he at length sailed for Malta, but had the mortification to learn that the French had been gone four days, and being destitute of further intelligence, he could only pursue the line marked out by probability; he examined the harbours of Alexandria, and was surprised to find that the French had not appeared in that quarter; he next shaped his course towards the coast of Caramanea, and steering along the south side of Candia, reached Sicily, and entered the port of Syracuse to gain intelligence, and to water his squadron, which had not been supplied since the beginning of May. The tidings gained at this place, though vague, seemed to ascertain that the French had proceeded towards the coast of Egypt.

Meanwhile Buonaparte, having quitted Malta with a brisk wind from the north-east, made the island of Candia, arrived in four days off the coast of Africa, and on the ensuing evening, being only two days after Nelson had quitted, appeared with all his force before Alexandria. It may seem surprising that so large a fleet as that which conveyed Buonaparte should have escaped the observation of the British squadron, both in their passage to Alexandria and their return to Syracuse; but in accounting for this circumstance it

is observed, that the French steered from Malta for Candia, by which they made an angular passage towards Alexandria, while Nelson proceeded directly for that place, without approaching Candia, which considerably shortened the distance. The smallness of the British squadron rendered it necessary to sail in close order, and it therefore covered only a very limited space; and as the admiral had no frigates to detach on the look-out, and a constant haze prevails in that atmosphere, the chance of descrying the French was much lessened. The distance, likewise, between Candia and the Barbary coast (about thirty-five leagues) leaves ample space for two of the largest fleets to pass without mutual observation.

Apprehensive of some disaster, and that the English fleet might return to frustrate his operations, Buonaparte hastily effected a landing of about four thousand three hundred men at Marabou, notwithstanding the height of the surf, and the difficulties of the shore. Although Marabou is only two leagues from Alexandria, the French found no opposition from the natives; not even a piece of artillery being planted for protection. Having subsequently augmented the number landed to about twenty-five thousand, they advanced in platoons against the city, and reached it, unopposed, except by a few Mamelouks, who, hovering around, cut off stragglers, and engaged

in a few slight and partial skirmishes. The city was garrisoned by about five hundred unskilful janisaries, and the remaining inhabitants in the forts and on the tops of the houses waited the attack. It is asserted that Alexandria was summoned, but the people answered only by yells and screams of fury, and by a discharge of artillery and carbines, and a shower of stones: the French had not yet landed their ordnance, but the defences of Alexandria were so weak as to forbid fear; and from the manner in which the affair is narrated by persons who may be supposed disinterested, the fact of any summons having been made is rendered extremely doubtful; indeed it has even been asserted, that Buonaparte did not summon the town, in order to found a pretence for storming it, and striking terror into the intended victims of his perfidy and barbarity. The Turks, assailed on every side by so large a force, made the best defence possible under the circumstances; about a hundred and fifty of the French were killed, and generals Kleber and Menou wounded. Seeing the invaders scaling the ramparts and forcing themselves in on every side, they desisted from an unprofitable resistance, and, betaking themselves to their religious exercises, filled the mosques. The republican soldiery with cannibal rage, pursued; men, women, old, young, children at the breast, all were massacred,

and this toil of depopulation lasted four days. Glutted with carnage, the troops, at length, desisted; and the few inhabitants who remained alive, were exceedingly astonished at finding that the invaders did not destroy them also.

After this display of vigour, as it has been called, Buonaparte proceeded to issue a proclamation filled with the most glaring and profane hypocrisy, a miserable imposition designed as a trick to allure the confidence of the natives, but which, when viewed impartially, must sink into the most degrading contempt the character of the adventurer, who, in a piratical pursuit of plunder, not only committed the most unprincipled barbarities, but voluntarily announced a renunciation of faith, which, when performed through compulsion, stamps on the delinquent the name of renegado, and is justly considered as the last test of a depraved mind, devoid of integrity and incapable of honour. The proclamation, which was said to have been received by the miserable survivors of the massacre with transports of joy, began by expressly denying Jesus Christ, and proceeded to affirm that the French adored the Supreme Being, and honoured the prophet Mahomet and his holy Koran! "The French," said this infamous composition, "are true Mussulmen. Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the throne of the pope, who excited the Christians against the

professors of Islamism ; and afterwards directed their course to Malta, and drove out the unbelievers, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen."

Desirous to profit without delay by the dismal tranquillity, and enforced appearance of goodwill, produced by this combination of cruelty and hypocrisy, Buonaparte disembarked his artillery, cavalry, and ammunition, in order to march against Cairo. In the interval, he established a provincial government, on the republican model, and attempted to infuse into the minds of the mussulmen the foppery of tri-coloured cockades and tri-coloured shawls ; while he disarmed all the people except the muftis, imans, and cheiks, and threatened with utter destruction all who should oppose his progress. He chose to proceed to Cairo by the desert and Demenhour, leaving the command of Alexandria, where great exertions were making to complete the fortifications, to Kleber. In their route to Demenhour, the French were continually harassed by the Arabs, who had filled up the wells in the desert, in consequence of which the fainting soldiers, scorched by a burning sun, could find no refreshment, and a small glass of dirty water was valued at its weight in gold. After reposing two days, and gaining scanty refreshments at Demenhour, the army proceeded for Rahmanié, still harassed by the Arabs, who shewed them-

selves in considerable numbers, and even attacked the great guards. Having prosecuted their march from sun-rise till half-past nine o'clock, three divisions of the French reached the Nile; and many soldiers, anxious to allay their heat and thirst in its refreshing stream, plunged in, dressed as they were: they were soon, however, compelled to return to their ranks, and resist the attack of about eight hundred Mamelouks, whom they dispersed without much difficulty.

Buonaparte, having reached Rahmanié, remained there two days, to rest and recruit his soldiers; while a flotilla, prepared under his direction, was entering the Nile, to forward his further operations. He then pursued his route towards Cairo; and at the village of Chebreisse encountered about four thousand Mamelouks, who assailed his flotilla and army, but, after displaying undaunted courage, were obliged to fly before the superior tactics of European troops; they, however, still hovered about the army, harassing their march, forming ambuscades, and abusing and killing couriers and other persons who fell into their hands. Thus all communication was intercepted at the distance of thirty fathoms from the main army, nor could any intelligence be received from, or imparted to, the troops of Alexandria. The wants of the army were excessive; every village at which they arrived was deserted, they found neither man nor beast; the soldiers lay

upon heaps of corn, yet wanted bread ; meat could not be procured ; and their chief subsistence was lentils and miserable cakes made of pounded wheat.

In these circumstances, their only hope of deliverance was from risking their lives in the field ; and they heard with joy that Mourad-Bey, at the head of six thousand Mamelouks, and a great body of Arabs and Fellahs, was entrenched at the village of Embabé, off Cairo, opposite to Boulac. At two in the morning, the French army quitted Omm-el-dinar, and having in twelve hours reached the villages of Ebverach and Boutis, perceived the Mamelouks approaching. The republicans were fatigued with their long march, and their opponents, moving in great numbers, with cavalry clad in glittering armour, made a grand and striking appearance, while forming on their right on the plain. The spot contributed also to excite lofty emotions : behind their left were the celebrated pyramids, so justly classed among the wonders of the world ; behind their right were the famous river Nile, Cairo, Mokattam, and the fields of ancient Memphis, where the fortune of war had so often changed the fate of empires. The order of battle was the same as at Chebreisse, and the Mamelouks were again taught the inefficacy of impetuous valour when opposed to science and discipline ; they were repulsed after two or

three furious, though unsuccessful onsets, and pursued to Gizeh, while the entrenchments at Embabé were forced by parts of the divisions of Bon and Menou, and by Kleber's division, led by general Dugua. The bravery displayed by the defenders of this post rendered their defeat lamentable. Fifteen hundred Mamelouk cavalry, and as many Fellahs, whose retreat was cut off by detachments under Marmont and Rampon, took an entrenched position behind a stream passing into the Nile; and having in vain performed prodigies of valour, were all sacrificed to the fury of the soldiery, or drowned in the river. Forty pieces of cannon, four hundred camels, and a vast quantity of baggage and provisions, were the spoils of this victory. The defeated Mamelouks fled in every direction, while divisions of the French army seized all the posts which they judged necessary to their safety or further operations. The next morning, the grandees of Cairo waited on Buonaparte, professing submission, and requiring protection: the commander answered with his accustomed insincerity, that the wish of the French was to remain on terms of friendship with the people of Egypt and the Ottoman Porte; and that the manners, usages, and religion of the country should be scrupulously respected. Shortly afterwards he removed his head-quarters to Cairo, and began to organize a

provisional government, repugnant in every particular to the manners and customs of the people ; appointing a divan in each province, empowered on any appearance of tumult to call in the French troops ; affording no guarantee for the exercise of religion, but taking especial care to appoint *intendants*, to collect, in every province, the revenues which formerly belonged to the Mamelouks, but which were now declared to be the property of the French republic !

Hitherto success had invariably attended the operations of Buonaparte ; and this success, however obtained, no doubt tended somewhat towards the aggregate of that fame on which he contrived to build his further advancement, to effect which he is said even now to have intended deserting his army. It has been stated that he was the cause of retaining the fleet in a disadvantageous position in the road of Aboukir, for the mere purpose of ensuring his own escape ; intending to leave his deluded army to maintain possession of a country, where barbarism was at its height, and where there was not even money enough to pay the troops, much less to reward their extraordinary labours, and gratify their hopes of plunder. But this expectation so fondly cherished was destined to meet with an unexpected disappointment ; and he was doomed to remain, for some time, chained to that shore, where his evil genius,

acting through the medium of a guilty ambition, seemed to have led him, and where he could only hope to maintain himself by repeated acts of cruelty and perfidy.

After taking in water at Syracuse, admiral Nelson proceeded in search of the French squadron, to the coast of the Morea; and at Coron obtained such intelligence as induced him to hasten back to Alexandria, where he had the satisfaction to perceive the harbour crowded with vessels under the French flag. The British fleet was animated with the prospect of attack, and irritated by the disappointments experienced in a protracted chase, no proclamation was necessary to inspire them with contempt of danger and eagerness to perform their duty. Nor was it possible for the commander to feel any anxiety for the success of his operations as far as it was dependent on the correct understanding of his signals; for he had constantly maintained the most friendly intercourse with his officers, and described, in repeated conversations, the course of the manœuvres he intended to adopt in every situation in which the encounter could possibly take place. It was noon when the British commander descried the Pharos of Alexandria; and captain Hood having been dispatched in the *Zealous*, communicated by signal, intelligence that the French fleet, consisting of sixteen ships,

was lying at anchor in order of battle, in a bay, which afterwards proved to be that of Aboukir. Nelson's fleet consisted of thirteen ships of seventy-four guns, one fifty, and a brig of sixteen : admiral Brueys commanded thirteen ships of the line and four frigates ; the largest of his vessels carrying a hundred and sixty guns, and his smallest thirty-six. He was moored in a strong and compact line of battle, close in with the shore, and protected by numerous gun-boats, and a battery of cannon and mortars on an island in his van.

The English admiral, having by his preparations and signals made a disposition of his force calculated to secure and improve the victory, approached the French line of battle, each ship sounding as she stood in. The position of the French fleet presented the most formidable obstacles : from their situation, they had no manœuvres to perform ; but their attention was confined to their artillery, in the judicious use of which they were so skilled, and to which they chiefly ascribed their astonishing successes by land. The British admiral, who saw all the advantages the French possessed, viewed them with a seaman's eye, and, knowing that they must have room to swing the length of their cables, he considered that there would be space enough for his ships to anchor between them and the shore.

The Goliath, commanded by captain Foley, led

the fleet into battle. At a quarter past six in the evening the engagement commenced ; captain Foley doubling their line, and anchoring alongside of the second ship in the van, and four other ships following his course, took their stations opposite the vessels they were directed to combat. The Vanguard, distinguished by the flag of admiral Nelson, next entered the battle : aware that it was impossible for the rear of the French (being to leeward) to assist, he redoubled his efforts to conquer one part before he attacked the rest ; and anchored outside of the French line, who were thus completely between two fires. The Vanguard soon dismasted the Spartiate, and obliged her to surrender ; and the Aquilon yielded to captain Louis, in the Minotaur. The Bellorophon, commanded by captain Darby, running down the line, dropped anchor close to the l'Orient, of a hundred and twenty guns, bearing the flag of the French commander-in-chief, admiral Brueys. Captain Peyton, in the Defence, followed, and took his station, with great judgment, by the Minotaur ; he engaged the Franklin of eighty guns, which bore the flag of contre-admiral Blanquet Du Chelard, second in command. The Majestic, with the Alexander and Swiftsure, which had been prevented assisting at the commencement of the battle, by reconnoitring Alexandria, and afterwards being obliged

to alter their course to avoid the shoal on which the Culloden had struck, came into action at eight o'clock, when darkness had for some time enveloped the combatants. The last ship that entered the conflict was the *Leander*, whose captain (Thompson) had lost some time in endeavouring to assist the Culloden. In the van, four French ships had already struck their colours to the British flag; and the battle raged chiefly in the centre, where the *Franklin*, *l'Orient*, *Le Tonnant*, and *l'Heureux*, were making every exertion to recover the glory lost by their comrades. At nine o'clock a fire was observed to have broken out in the cabin of *l'Orient*; but although the conflagration soon raged with dreadful fury, the French admiral sustained the honour of his flag with heroic firmness, till he was cut asunder by a cannon-ball: he had before received three desperate wounds, but could not be prevailed on to quit his station on the arm-chest. His captain, *Casa Bianca*, fell by his side. Several of the officers and men, seeing the impracticability of extinguishing the fire, which had now extended itself along the upper decks, and flaming up the masts, jumped overboard; some supporting themselves on spars and pieces of wreck, others swimming with all their might to escape the dreadful catastrophe. Shot flying in all directions dashed many of them to pieces; others were picked up by the boats of the fleet, or dragged into the

lower parts of the nearest ships : the British sailors humanely stretched forth their hands to save a fallen enemy, though the battle at that moment raged with uncontrolled fury. The situation of the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure* was extremely perilous ; as the explosion of such a ship as *l'Orient* might involve all around in destruction. Captain Hallowell of the *Swiftsure*, being to windward of the burning ship, would not remove ; but captain Ball's ship having been twice set on fire by the flames of *l'Orient*, he was obliged to take a more distant station.

Admiral Nelson, who had been carried off severely wounded on the head, was informed of the situation of the *l'Orient*, and hastened on deck, directing that every exertion should be made to save as many lives as possible. Boats were immediately put out, and about seventy Frenchmen were rescued.

At half past nine the fire communicated to the magazine, and *l'Orient* blew up with a tremendous explosion. A tremulous motion was felt to the very bottom of each ship, similar to that of an earthquake ; and fragments hurled to a vast height into the air descended in about three minutes into the water, and on the decks and rigging of the surrounding ships. Fortunately, however, no material damage occurred. An awful silence reigned for several minutes, as if contending squadrons, struck with horror, had forgotten their

hostile rage in pity for the sufferers. But vengeance soon roused the drooping spirits of the French; the engagement was renewed, and continued till about three o'clock in the morning, when the firing ceased entirely, both squadrons being equally exhausted with fatigue. At four, just as the day began to dawn, the conflict was revived; in the course of which, *l'Artemise* frigate fired a broadside at the *Theseus*, and then struck her colours; but just as a boat sent to take possession had come within a short distance, she burst into a flame, and soon afterwards blew up. This event arose from the treachery of *Estandlet*, who commanded; and who, having set his vessel on fire after his surrender, escaped to the shore, with most of his crew.

Separate engagements between different ships were maintained during the greater part of the day; about noon, rear-admiral *Ville Neuve*, in the *Guillaume Tell*, of eighty guns, the *Généreux*, of seventy guns, and *La Justice* and *Diane* frigates, got under weigh, and made their escape.

On the ensuing morning, the only French ships remaining in the bay, not captured or destroyed, were the *Timoleon* and *Tonnant*. The former being aground near the coast, the captain (*Trullet*) with his crew, escaped in boats after setting her on fire, and in a short time she blew up. The *Tonnant* submitted to the *Theseus*, *Leander*, and *Swiftsure*, which completed the conquest of the

French fleet in the bay of Aboukir, and the British flag became triumphant on the Egyptian seas.

The French distinctly beheld from the heights of Rosetta the progress of this astonishing, and to them afflictive, engagement: their hopes vanished with the chance of victory; and they now considered themselves for ever lost to their country, and cooped up in a strange and detested land, to struggle for existence, and lengthen life only to protract their despair and horror.

At this particular juncture the battle which we have described produced the most interesting effects. The military exertions of France had by degrees destroyed the combination which the princes of Europe formed against her. The victories of Buonaparte had humbled Austria; the continent looked with dismay towards the new republic, and when the directory seized on Rome and Switzerland, no power ventured to interpose in their behalf. The aspect of affairs, however, had now undergone an almost total change. A victorious branch of the French army was shut up in a barbarous country, from which the fleets of England might prevent its return. Proposals were made by Great Britain to the northern powers, for the recommencement of hostilities against France, as it was not conceived possible that she could make such resistance as formerly. The states of Italy, too, determined to make a bold

effort for the recovery of their independence. The court of Naples rejoiced at the destruction of the French fleet, and the king himself went to meet admiral Nelson on his return from the Nile.

It was well known that the French had long promised encouragement to the Irish rebels; but as their expectations were not gratified in time, they broke out into open revolt without the promised assistance; and when the spirit of opposition was almost wholly subdued, the directory attempted to land troops in small divisions, such as that under general Humbert on the 22d of August, consisting only of eleven hundred men, who landed at Killala. Yet this force, small as it was, would have proved formidable but a month before. They were joined by a party of the most desperate of the rebels in the vicinity, and defeated general Lake at the head of a superior force, taking from him six pieces of cannon. Their next step was to march in different directions to announce the arrival of the republicans, and maintained their ground for three weeks. The French general receiving no reinforcements from France, finding the rebellion in a great measure crushed, and being informed that general Cornwallis was about to surround him with twenty-five thousand men, laid down his arms to a British column, four days after he had dismissed his Irish associates, that they might provide for their own

safety. The more active measures of the directory for sending troops to Ireland were now taken when too late, as the vigilance of British cruizers defeated all their endeavours. *La Hoche*, a ship of eighty-four guns, and four frigates, were captured by Sir John Borlase Warren on the 12th of October, in attempting to reach Ireland with three thousand men. On the 20th another frigate was taken, destined for the same country, and the attempt was at length altogether abandoned as desperate.

The victory, obtained by admiral Nelson at the mouth of the Nile, induced the king of Naples to act the very imprudent part of preparing to commence hostilities against France. Without even waiting till the Austrians should commence the attack on the republican troops in the Roman territory, he procured general Mack to assume the command of his army. He began the war without any foreign aid, except that of the British fleet, and thus brought upon himself the vengeance of the republicans. The directory had had no idea that he would have adopted such a line of conduct, and when general Mack appeared at the head of forty-five thousand men, the troops of France in that quarter were unable to contend with him. General Championet complained of the attack made upon his posts, and received answer that his majesty had resolved to take possession of the Roman territory, advising the French to retire

quietly into the Cisalpine states, or that their entrance into Tuscany would be considered as a declaration of war. Championet accordingly evacuated Rome, as he had no force against such a formidable army. He left a garrison in the castle of St. Angelo, concentrating what troops he could collect in the northern parts of the Roman state; and general Mack entered the city of Rome without opposition in the end of November.

These transactions having been known at Paris, war was immediately declared against their Neapolitan and Sardinian majesties, the latter of whom had committed no act of hostility against the French; but he was accused of disaffection to the republic, a charge which could scarcely fail to be true. He found himself placed in a very humiliating situation since the first entrance of Buonaparte into Italy, his strongest fortresses being in possession of the French, who levied on him what contributions they thought proper, and even placed a garrison in his metropolis. Being unable to engage in war, he made a voluntary surrender of his continental dominions, and agreed to retire to the island of Sardinia.

A period was soon put to the dispute with Naples. As the French retreated, the country people gave them much trouble and uneasiness, and the Neapolitan troops scarcely observed the modern rules of war respecting such as they had taken prisoners. When general Bouchard, by

orders from general Mack, commanded the castle of St. Angelo to surrender, he maintained that he would view the prisoners in the light of hostages for the conduct of the garrison, and that a man should be put to death for every gun fired from the castle. It is scarcely to be imagined that the Neapolitan officers would have expressed themselves in such a determined manner, if they had not calculated on the vigorous co-operation of the Austrian forces, but in this they were deceived. The consequence of which was, that the territory of Naples soon after fell into the hands of the French. Either the terror of the republican name was so great in Italy, or the cowardice of the Neapolitan troops, that they were defeated by one-fourth of their own numbers, at Terni, Porto Fermo, Civita Castellana, Otricoli, and Calvi. As the army of general Mack was gradually reduced to twelve thousand men, in consequence of desertion and frequent defeats, he advised the king of Naples and his family to take refuge on board the British fleet, which was then lying at Leghorn. This advice was adopted, and they reached Palermo, in Sicily, on the 27th of December, in admiral Nelson's ship. General Mack having requested an armistice, it was refused by the French commander. Being driven from Capua, the only remaining post of any consequence in the territory of Naples, and in the greatest danger from the disaffection

of his troops, he surrendered himself and the officers of his staff to the republican general. A contribution prevented the occupation of Naples, but general Serrurier took possession of Leghorn.

The mildness of the climate in the southern parts of Italy enabling the people to subsist with few efforts of industry, an indolent disposition, becomes common among them, cherished by a number of charitable institutions originating from the catholic religion. In Naples there existed a body of men called Lazzaroni, or beggars, amounting to the astonishing sum total of near forty thousand, who entirely subsisted on charity. They frequently threatened the state if they did not receive an immediate supply of their wants, which procured them very liberal contributions. Having been informed that the French, wherever they came, destroyed all monasteries and other sources of charity, they determined to oppose them to the utmost of their power, and appear advocates for the royal government. But their measures were so ill-judged and disorderly, that it became necessary even on the part of the inhabitants that their progress should be interrupted. After several severe engagements they at length occupied Naples, where they were overthrown by the French on the 23d of January, 1799, with a great slaughter.

CHAPTER IX.

Renewal of Hostilities in Germany.—Progress of the Campaign.—Success of the Austrians.—Affairs of Egypt.—Concerns of the Directory.—Campaign in Germany and Italy.—England attempts the Invasion of Holland.—Measures of the Army in Egypt.—Buonaparte returns to Paris.—Effects a Change in the Government.—New Constitution.—Buonaparte elected Chief Consul.—Progress of the War in Egypt.—Northern Confederacy.—Battle of Copenhagen.

THEIR last successes may be regarded as the closing triumph of the directory, for the consequences of their past conduct were now rapidly gathering around them. They were with the greatest justice unpopular at home, both from their mode of conducting public affairs, and their repeated violations of the constitution. Their profusion was unlimited, as well as the exorbitant demands which they made upon conquered countries. Even their general, Championet, was so ashamed of them, that in Italy he endeavoured to restrain them, in consequence of which he was deprived of his command, and thrown into prison; Scherer, the war minister,

being appointed his successor. Under him the rapacity of the government agents, and the embezzlement of the public stores, were carried to the utmost. Yet France still continued to be dreaded by foreign nations, to whom the true state of her internal affairs was but obscurely known. An army of forty-five thousand Russians had arrived to the assistance of Austria, yet that cabinet was at a loss whether to declare war or not. Great Britain solicited the aid of Prussia with an offer of large subsidies ; but the French plenipotentiary at Berlin, artfully contrived to defeat the negotiation, and counteract the unpopularity of his country in Germany, by giving to the world the secret convention of Campo Formio. This determined the greater number of the German princes to maintain their neutrality under the guardianship of Prussia.

A note was presented to the congress at Rastadt on the 2d of January, 1799, by the French plenipotentiaries resident there, intimating that if the entrance of Russian troops into Germany was not prevented, it would be considered as tantamount to a declaration of war. To this no satisfactory answer was returned. The strong fortress of Ehrenbreitstein surrendered on the 26th of that month, after being blockaded since the treaty of Campo Formio. This possession, together with Mentz and Dusseldorf, made the French very powerful on the Rhine. Switzerland

also belonged to them, and all the fortified places of Italy, on which account they were qualified to commence active operations. At this period Jourdan commanded on the Upper Rhine from Mentz to Huningen; the eastern frontier of Switzerland was occupied by general Massena; Scherer had the chief command in Italy; Moreau acted under him, and Macdonald commanded the troops in the territory of Rome and Naples. Yet all these armies so scattered, did not exceed one hundred and seventy thousand men, a force greatly inferior to that of Austria, independent of the Russian army. The directory, however, trusting to the unity of its own plans, the wavering politics of the court of Vienna, and the slow movements of the imperial armies, was anxious to renew the war, a declaration of which against the emperor of Germany and the grand duke of Tuscany, was made on the 13th of March. Jourdan had actually crossed the Rhine at Strasburg on the 1st of that month, and occupied many strong positions in Swabia. Mannheim was taken, and general Bernadotte summoned Philipsburg to surrender, while general St. Cyr entered Stuttgart. In order to oppose the march of this army, the archduke Charles crossed the Lech on the 4th of March; Massena marched into the territory of the Grisons, and surprising a strong body of Austrians, made the whole of them prisoners, together with their general and his staff, in con-

sequence of which the country of the Grisons was reduced.

The republican plan of procedure was not completed without the junction of Massena's and Jourdan's armies, to accomplish which it was necessary to carry the important post of Feldkirch, which was held by general Hotze. Defeated in his first attempt, Massena renewed the attack five times with fresh forces, but the determined bravery of the Austrians rendered them ineffectual. But as the French were in possession of the Grisons, the invasion of the Engadine was facilitated, where the Austrians being too weak to resist, retreated into the Tyrol, and were pursued by the republicans, who forced some of the defiles, and extended their inroads as far as Glurentz and Nauders.

Indeed the whole campaign of 1799 proved highly disastrous to the French. The vanguard of the principal Austrian army engaged the French under Jourdan on the 20th of March. Jourdan at first gained some advantages ; but was soon compelled by numbers to retire towards Switzerland, where Massena was appointed to succeed him in command. The Austrians were no less successful in Italy, notwithstanding they were attacked by the French before the termination of the armistice.

A body of Russians having joined the imperialists, the command of this combined army was given to field-marshal Suwarrow Rimniski, who

advanced towards the Adda on the 24th of April; and after carrying the outposts of general Moreau, Suwarrow determined to fall on his entrenchments. He maintained the appearance of attack along the whole line of Moreau, while he secretly threw a bridge over among the rocks at the upper part of the river, where such a thing had been considered as impossible. By means of this bridge a part of the combined army next morning turned the republican fortifications, and attacked their flank and rear, while the rest of the army forced the passage of the river at different points. The French fought with their usual intrepidity, but were soon driven from all their positions, and forced to retreat to Pavia, with the loss of six thousand men killed, five thousand made prisoners, including four generals, and eighty pieces of cannon.

The French army under Moreau did not now amount to more than twelve thousand men, with which he took post on the Po, between Alessandria and Valentia. But the combined army having begun the sieges of fortified places in Italy, he retired with the view of defending the passes of Genoa. Massena also fell back to the vicinity of Zurich, being pressed by the archduke. Piedmont had risen against the republicans, and as they obtained no reinforcements from the interior, they could in general only at this moment, act on the defensive, with one exception. Macdonald,

who still commanded thirty thousand men, although ordered by the directory to quit the territories of Rome and Naples, determined on an engagement. On the 12th of June his advanced divisions attacked and defeated Hohenzollern, taking two thousand of his men prisoners. General Ott was attacked at the same time, and being compelled to retreat, the French made their entry into Parma on the 14th. He was again attacked on the 17th, and forced to retire towards Giovanni, where the progress of general Macdonald was arrested.

Suwarrow, having received information of his approach, and of his successes, left Turin on the 15th of June at the head of twenty thousand men, and came up with Macdonald on the banks of the Tidone. The centre and right wing of Suwarrow's army were commanded by Rosenberg and Foerster, the Austrian general Melas commanded the left wing; prince Procraton was at the head of the advanced guard, and prince Lichtenstein of the reserve. An action immediately commenced, which was fought with desperate fury on both sides for three successive days, when victory declared in favour of Suwarrow. Driven from Tidone to the Trebbia, the French were finally vanquished on the 19th, after a greater slaughter on both sides than the oldest officer present ever before witnessed. Victory remained doubtful, till general Kray arrived with large reinforce-

ments from the army besieging Mantua, and, in direct contempt of his orders, decided the fate of the day.

The republicans retreated during the night, and the next day they were pursued by the army of Suwarrow in two columns. Seldom could the French be overtaken in a march, but the army of Suwarrow accomplished this, when he surrounded the rear-guard of the fugitives, and obliged them to lay down their arms. The rest of the army defended themselves in the passes of the Apennines and territory of Genoa, after losing seventeen thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The fortresses in Italy surrendered in close succession, and it appeared as if the combined powers would soon be able to enter the territory of France.

The directory now employed every effort to augment the armies which had suffered such dreadful diminutions. In the beginning of August their army in Italy amounted to forty-five thousand men, of which general Joubert had the chief command. Turin, Alessandria, Milan, Peschiera, and Ferrara, were captured by the allies with astonishing rapidity. Turin sustained a bombardment of only three days, Alessandria held out seven, and Mantua only fourteen, in which last place there were thirteen thousand, who were dismissed on their parole. The combined powers next laid siege to Tortona, and general Joubert resolved on

its relief, which object he expected to accomplish before the arrival of Kray with assistance to Suwarrow. The whole of the Austrian posts were driven in by the republicans on the 13th of August, who took possession of Novi. On the 15th they were attacked by Suwarrow, who by this time had received troops from Mantua under general Kray. The right wing was commanded by this officer, its left by Melas, and its centre by prince Procraton and Suwarrow in person. The engagement commenced about five o'clock in the morning, soon after which, while general Joubert was urging his troops forward to charge with the bayonet, he received a musket-shot in his body, and falling from his horse, he immediately expired. Moreau resumed the command, and after a bloody conflict, the allied army gave way in all directions. The Russians in particular suffered severely, from the obstinate manner in which they fought. The French line was attacked at three in the afternoon, but remained unbroken; and the whole would have terminated in the defeat of the allies, if general Melas had not turned the right flank of the republican line; but following up his advantages, he got possession of Novi, when the French army began to retreat under the command of general Moreau.

Suwarrow followed his recent victories by an attempt to relieve Switzerland; but here the French force was great, and having been dis-

appointed in the co-operation of the arch-duke Charles, the plan proved fruitless after some very severe fighting.

Great Britain in the mean time made active preparations to invade Holland, with an army of forty thousand men, composed of British troops and auxiliaries from Russia. The first division under general Sir Ralph Abercromby sailed in the month of August, protected by a fleet under admiral Duncan. Bad weather prevented any attempt to land the troops till the 27th, on the morning of which day the debarkation was effected on the shore of Helder Point without opposition. They were not expected to land in North Holland, on which account the troops in that neighbourhood were few. But before the British troops had proceeded far on their march, they had to contend with a considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, hastily collected from the adjacent towns. The Dutch fought with great obstinacy, but became fatigued by the steady opposition of their antagonists, and fell back about two leagues. They evacuated the fort of Helder in the night, and it was taken possession of by the British on the morning of the 28th. Admiral Mitchell now entered the Zuyder sea with a detachment of the British fleet, in order to give battle to the Dutch under admiral Story, but he surrendered on the 30th August.

As this victory was followed up by an endeavour

to restore the authority of the stadtholder, and the ancient government of the United Provinces, and as no more than the first division had arrived, the terror of an invading foe began to be dissipated, the enemies of the new government were disheartened, and time was allowed to prepare for defence. Additional troops arrived on the 13th, under the duke of York, who assumed the chief command. On the arrival of the Russians, offensive operations were immediately resolved on, and the army marched forward on the 19th. Their first movements proved disastrous, for owing to some misunderstanding, the Russians had advanced several hours before the other troops, and were surrounded. But on the 2d of October a desperate action took place between the French and English, which lasted twelve hours. The duke of York was able to keep the field, but soon finding obstacles multiply, he resolved on a retreat, returning with his troops to England.

The army in Egypt met with many difficulties, and Buonaparte, even aided by his consummate dissimulation and cruelty, found himself at length unable to effect his object. Having defeated the Mamelukes, made himself master of Alexandria and Cairo, and professed himself a Mahometan, he led his troops into Palestine, with the view of taking possession of Jerusalem.

At the head of ten thousand men, well officered,

he reached Acre on the sea coast, twenty-eight miles south of Tyre and thirty-seven north of Jerusalem. He immediately laid siege to this town, which was defended by a small garrison of Mussulmen, the command of whom had been given to sir Sidney Smith. Although the total of his troops did not exceed two thousand, he kept Buonaparte before Acre sixty-nine days, and at last compelled him to raise the siege, after having lost eight generals, eighty-five inferior officers, and almost one half of his army. Buonaparte having received intelligence that a Turkish army was proceeding into Egypt by sea, immediately returned, crossed the desert, and attacked them. Being ignorant of European tactics, they were soon confused and sought their ships, but pursued, the greater part perished in the sea. Aboukir was now speedily taken, and on this achievement Buonaparte resolved to terminate his career in Egypt.

With the inhuman stigma of having ordered the slaughter of three thousand eight hundred prisoners in cold blood, and the administering of poison to five hundred and eighty of his own troops, who were sick at Jaffa, he secretly quitted that soil which he now despaired of conquering, and returned to France, October 14, 1799, agitated by new projects, and attended by his principal officers. He was received at Paris with marks of distinction, although none could tell why he had left his army and returned home. At this

time the parties in the government were equally balanced; and the assistance of Buonaparte was requested by both. The Jacobins were superior in the council of five hundred, and the Moderates in that of the ancients. It was understood that Sieyes was attached to the latter party, on which account the Jacobins had made many unsuccessful efforts to dismiss him from his office. Intriguing as the Jacobins were, Sieyes had a plot ripe for execution, to overwhelm them in a moment. On the morning of the 9th of November, one of the committees of the council of ancients gave in a report, that the country was in danger, proposing the sitting of the legislature to be adjourned to St. Cloud, about six miles from Paris. The council of five hundred having no legal right to question the authority of this decree, and as the ruling party were thus taken unawares, the members gave their silent consent, and both councils met at the place appointed on the 10th of November.

The council of five hundred received a letter from Lagarde, secretary to the directory, informing them of four of its members having resigned their offices, and that Barras was a prisoner by order of Buonaparte, whom the council of ancients had appointed commander of their guard. In the midst of their deliberations, Buonaparte entered the hall, accompanied by about twenty officers and grenadiers. He proceeded towards

the chair where his brother Lucien sat as president, when great tumult ensued, and the epithets of a Cromwell, a Cæsar, and a usurper, were applied to him. The members pressed forward upon him, and Arena, a Corsican, endeavoured to dispatch him with a dagger; but he was rescued by his military attendants. A party of armed men entered the hall, and carried off the president, when in a violent debate which ensued, it was proposed that Buonaparte should be declared an outlaw. Military music was soon heard approaching; a body of armed troops entered the hall, and the members were obliged to disperse. The council of ancients set aside the constitution and passed a number of decrees. The directory was abolished, and an executive commission substituted in its place, consisting of Buonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos, under the denomination of consuls. The sittings were adjourned till the 20th of February, 1800, and two committees, consisting of twenty-one members, chosen from both councils, to act as interim legislators. The greater part of the members composing the council of five hundred returned to Paris, having been expelled from the hall by the military, while part of them continued, and sanctioned all the decrees of the council of ancients. On the 17th of November the consuls decreed the transportation of a great number of Jacobins to Guiana, and cast a number of them into prison; but these decrees were soon

after reversed, and every thing assumed an air of tranquillity.

The plan of a new constitution was presented to the public by the consuls in the month of December, 1799. According to this plan, eighty men, who had the power of nominating their own successors, and were called the conservative senate, had likewise authority to elect the whole of the legislators and executive rulers of the state, while none of these offices could be held by themselves. One man, called the *chief consul*, possessed the sovereign authority, held his power for ten years, and was competent to be re-elected. Other two consuls were to assist in his deliberations, but had no power to control his will. The legislative power was divided into two assemblies; the tribunate, composed of one hundred members, and the conservative senate of three hundred. When the chief consul thought proper to propose a law, the tribunate might debate upon it, without having authority to vote either for or against it, while the members of the senate might vote, but were not enabled to debate. The consuls and the members of the legislative body, as well as of the conservative senate, were not responsible for their conduct, but ministers of state employed by them were understood to be accountable. The committees which framed the constitution, nominated the persons who were to execute the functions of government. Buona-

parte was appointed chief consul, and Cambaceres and Lebrun second and third consuls. Sieyes, as formerly, declined taking any active part in the administration of public affairs; and he received, as a gratuity for his services, an estate belonging to the nation, called *Crasne*, in the department of the Seine and Oisne.

Buonaparte had not long been in possession of the reins of government, before he sent overtures for negotiating peace with the allied powers at war with France; but he had little reason to wish for a general peace. Separate proposals were made to the different belligerent powers, no doubt with a view to dissolve the coalition; but the decrees of the convention which declared war against all the powers of Europe, were not repealed by him. He departed from the forms sanctioned by the custom of nations in carrying on diplomatic correspondence, and addressed a letter directly to his Britannic majesty, the substance of which was contained in two questions; "whether the war, which had for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the globe, was to be eternal?" and "whether there were no means for Britain and France of coming to a good understanding?" Satisfactory and unanswerable replies were made to these questions by the British ministry, who dwelt much, and very justly, on the bad faith of revolutionary rulers, and the instability of the governments of France since the

subversion of the monarchy. The overture transmitted to Vienna was of a similar nature, and it experienced similar treatment; but the emperor of Russia abandoned the coalition, probably on account of the manner in which Suwarrow had been treated, while carrying on the war in Italy and Switzerland.

On the 7th of March, 1800, Buonaparte sent a message to the legislative body, menacing England in that phrensiad style of bloated vanity by which his official productions have been so remarkably distinguished, in which he swore to fight only for the happiness of France and the repose of the world! This message was followed by two decrees; the one calling, in the name of honour, upon every soldier absent on leave from the armies of Italy and the Rhine, to join them before the 5th of April; and the other appointing a fresh army of reserve of sixty thousand men to be assembled at Dijon, under the immediate command of the first consul.

About this time the belligerent powers were nearly ready for opening the campaign in Italy and on the Rhine. The Genoese republic was the only territory of any importance in Italy, which remained in the hands of the French; but the army by which they defended it was very much reduced since the preceding year, and might be considered as in a state of mutiny, from the want of pay, clothes, and provisions. The Aus-

trians eagerly wished to obtain possession of Genoa and all its dependencies, in which they could not fail to be seconded by the Genoese themselves, as they looked upon the republicans to be the destroyers of their commerce. Massena received the command of the army in Genoa. After a number of battles had been fought, he was obliged to retire into the city, where he must soon have been compelled to surrender by famine, if general Melas had immediately blockaded it.

The appearance of the British fleet on the 5th of April, was the concerted signal for Melas to make an attack upon Genoa, the communication between which and France was thus cut off. General Melas having nothing to apprehend from this army blocked up in Genoa, left general Ott to continue the blockade, and went with his own forces against Sauchet, who commanded another division of the French army.

A decisive battle was fought between Ceva and St. Lorenzo, on the 7th of May, in which the republicans experienced a total defeat, having lost one thousand two hundred prisoners, and nineteen pieces of cannon. This soon obliged general Sauchet to abandon his strong position of Col di Tenda, where he left behind him four pieces of cannon and two hundred prisoners; and marching on towards Nice, the Austrians drove him from one post to another, till he was finally obliged to take refuge behind the Var; by which

movements general Melas became master of the whole department of the Maritime Alps. But the campaign on the Rhine did not open in such a favourable manner to the Austrians. The court of Vienna directed the archduke Charles to resign the command of the army to general Kray, who distinguished himself in such an eminent manner in Italy, during the campaign of 1799.

General Moreau crossed the Rhine, and drove the Austrians from post to post, till Kray, finding his army disaffected, resolved to maintain his position at Ulm, and wait for assistance from Vienna. He entrenched himself strongly at Ulm, commanding both sides of the Danube, which makes it a place of great importance. Moreau, perceiving his intentions, resolved to try the passage of the Danube, and force him to a general engagement, by cutting him off from his magazines at Donawert. For this purpose he gave orders to Lecourbe with one of the wings of his army, to take possession of a bridge between Donawert and Dillingen, which was not effected without considerable difficulty. The Austrians having perceived, when too late, that their all was in danger, disputed every inch of ground with the French commander. Between the time of marching to, and of crossing the Danube, Kray sent reinforcements to the left bank to oppose the passage, in consequence of which a battle was fought at Hochstet, in the vicinity of Blenheim,

where victory again declared for the French, who made four thousand of the enemy prisoners, independent of the killed and wounded lost by the Austrians.

General Kray, sensible that his situation was perilous, left a strong garrison at Ulm, and marched against the enemy, attacking them at Newburg, which both sides conducted with determined bravery; but the Austrians, after a long contest, fell back on Ingolstadt. The electorate of Bavaria was now in the possession of the French, with other territories of less extent; and as they approached the hereditary dominions of the emperor, men of republican sentiments behaved with such effrontery, as to convince the court, that no dependence could be reasonably placed on armies composed of such men. The imperial family, and the British ambassador, were openly insulted in the theatre, and the cry of *peace, peace*, was vociferated from different quarters.

When the campaign opened on the Rhine, the army of reserve under the command of Buonaparte, which was formed at Dijon, began its march. He set out from Paris on the 5th of May to take the command, and on receiving the troops cantoned at Dijon, he proceeded towards Genoa. Having been a short time in the Pays de Vaud, he joined the army of reserve at the foot of St. Bernard, of which he immediately assumed the command. The army of reserve encountered no op-

position till it reached the town of Aost, of which Buonaparte soon gained possession. Having passed the fort of Bard, he proceeded on his march down the valley of Aost with little opposition, till he arrived at the town of Yorea, where the Austrians were assembled in force, but were obliged to give way before the impetuosity of the republicans, and post themselves on the heights of Romano behind the Chiusella. It was of vast importance as commanding the passage of the river, and was occupied by four thousand cavalry, five thousand infantry, and a few pieces of cannon. It was taken on the 26th of May, and the fort of Brunette soon after, in consequence of which the road to Turin was now open. General Melas marched towards Turin with all possible speed, in order to defend the Po, and prevent the invaders from arriving at Vienna. He naturally concluded that Turin would be the first important point of attack made by the French, but in this he was deceived ; for while he prepared to dispute the passage of the Po with the republicans, Buonaparte suddenly turned to the left, and entered Milan on the 2d of June.

The army of Buonaparte was very numerous, but he wanted magazines, artillery, and stores of every kind ; but understanding that Pavia had become the great depôt of the Austrian army, he sent his advanced guard against it under general Lannes,

who made an easy conquest of it, and found in it more than two hundred pieces of cannon, eight thousand muskets, two thousand barrels of gunpowder, and a prodigious quantity of all sorts of provisions. Another general crossed the Po at Stradella; and having cut off the communication between general Melas and the country of Piedmont, gained possession of the Austrian magazines at Piacenza, Cremona, and a number of other places on the banks of the river.

General Ott marched at the head of thirty battalions to check the progress of the French army in Piedmont. On the 9th of June he was met by generals Lannes and Victor at Montebello, where a battle was fought with great fury on both sides, when the French were victorious, and general Ott retreated with great loss. Melas being unable to arrest the progress of the republicans by detachments of his army, collected his whole force between Alessandria and Tortona, that he might be able to open a way for himself to the Austrians on the Mincio, if he should find it impossible to crush the enemy. The consequence of this step was the memorable battle of Marengo, fought on the 14th of June. The Austrians were victorious for nine hours, but the fate of the battle appears to have been decided by the masterly conduct of general Desaix, who died on the field. One false movement, made by general Melas, which en-

feebled his centre, afforded Desaix an opportunity of making a vigorous charge with a body of cavalry that had hitherto been unemployed.

The Austrians lost in this engagement above nine thousand men, and the French upwards of twelve thousand, according to their own account. Enraged that the victory should be thus snatched from them, the Austrians were eager to renew the combat on the following day; but general Melas deemed it prudent to check the ardour of his troops, and concluded a capitulation. The whole of Piedmont and Genoa were given up to the French, and an armistice was concluded, to last till the court of Vienna had time to return its opinion.

General Kray, in Italy, was anxious to avail himself of this armistice, to arrest the progress of Moreau's army; but that general would not listen to any overtures upon the subject, till he should receive instructions from Paris. Count St. Julien arrived with proposals of peace from the imperial cabinet, in consequence of which the armistice was concluded in Germany and Italy, the posts then occupied by the respective armies being considered as constituting the line of demarcation. In opposition to the spirit of their stipulations with general Melas, the French reinforced their army in Italy, levied immense contributions, and raised troops in different states declared by themselves to be independent.

While France was thus victorious in Europe, her troops in Egypt were subjected to hardships and disgrace. They complained bitterly of having been abandoned by their chief, and Kleber is said to have declared, that the same universe should not contain him and Buonaparte. He continued the negotiations begun by Buonaparte with the grand vizier for evacuating Egypt, between whom a convention was concluded on the 24th of January, 1800, to which sir Sydney Smith agreed on the part of Great Britain. By virtue of this convention the republican army, its baggage and effects, were to be collected at Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, to be conveyed to France in vessels belonging to the republic, and such as might be furnished for that purpose by the Sublime Porte; and lord Keith being ordered to agree to these terms by the court of London, a suspension of hostilities took place, and the Turks were ready to be delivered from enemies whom they were not able to expel, when general Kleber was suddenly assassinated.

Both parties had reason to regret this event, as general Kleber appears to have been, not only the most honourable, but by far the ablest commander of the republicans, in that quarter of the globe. It is not certainly known by whom he was murdered, nor who were the contrivers of such a plot; but at Constantinople his successor Menou was strongly suspected.

As Menou refused to leave Egypt by capitulation, the British government formed the resolution of driving him out of it by force. Sir James Pulteney received the command of twelve thousand men, to act in the Mediterranean in such a manner as might most effectually annoy the enemy; a plan which was disconcerted by the issue of the battle of Marengo. He was superseded by sir Ralph Abercromby, who carried reinforcements along with him, together with a train of artillery from Gibraltar. He touched at Minorca and Malta, from whence he steered his course for the coast of Egypt, which he reached on the 1st of March, 1801, and anchored next day in the bay of Aboukir; but the weather prevented him from attempting to land till the 7th of that month, at ten o'clock in the forenoon. The first division effected a landing in the face of the French, to the amount of four thousand men, whose position was so very advantageous, that an eye-witness thought they might have resisted the world; yet two thousand British troops drove them from it, with the loss of some field pieces, and the disembarkation was continued during that and the following day.

The whole army of general Abercromby moved forward on the 12th, and coming in sight of the main body of the French, gave them battle on the 13th. The conflict was obstinate on both sides, and their loss very considerable, but victory was

finally on the side of the British. This advantage was followed up with vigour, and on the 21st a more important battle was fought with similar success, about four miles from the city of Alexandria. Sometimes the French had the advantage, and sometimes the British, but the latter were finally victorious. General Abercromby, that he might not damp the ardour of his troops, concealed for two hours the anguish of a mortal wound he received in this action:—a degree of magnanimity which has very seldom been equalled, and perhaps never was surpassed. The loss of the British on this occasion was estimated at one thousand five hundred, and that of the French at four thousand men.

As it may be said that the fate of Egypt was decided in a great measure by these two battles, it may be proper to return to affairs of great importance which about this time took place in Europe. The powers of the north, envious of the superiority of England by sea, and acting under the influence of the capricious Paul, were resolved to revive the armed neutrality of Catherine II. during the continuance of the American war, and claimed a right of trading to the ports of France, without being subjected to having their vessels searched. The ministry of Great Britain were determined to break such a confederacy; but to the astonishment of the nation they resigned just at this period. Different causes have been assigned

for an event which was so unexpected ; but the ostensible reason was a difference in the cabinet relative to catholic emancipation.

About this time the most hostile measures were adopted by the powers composing the northern confederacy. The free city of Hamburgh was taken by a Danish army under Charles prince of Hesse, in order to injure the commerce of Great Britain ; and the king of Prussia sent a numerous army into the electorate of Hanover. To punish this unaccountable conduct, and dissolve the northern confederacy, a fleet of seventeen sail of the line, four frigates, four sloops, and some bomb vessels, was fitted out in the ports of England, which sailed from Yarmouth on the 12th of March, under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, lord Nelson, and rear-admiral Graves, and having passed the Sound, appeared before Copenhagen on the 30th of the same month. The Danes did not appear in the smallest degree agitated, for it was impossible to molest either the fleet or the city, without passing through a channel so extremely intricate, that it was once believed hardly safe to attempt it with a single ship, and without any enemy to oppose. This channel was sounded by lord Nelson, who undertook to conduct a large division of the fleet through it, requesting from sir Hyde Parker the command of it, which was accordingly given him, and rear-admiral Graves was his second in command.

As the largest ships drew too much water for being employed in such a hazardous attempt, his lordship selected twelve of from seventy-four to fifty guns, together with four frigates, four sloops, two fire-ships, and seven bombs. A most prodigious force was opposed to this, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, each mounting from twenty-six to twenty-four pounders to eighteen eighteen pounders, one bomb-ship, and a number of schooners. These were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting eighty-eight pieces of cannon; by four sail of the line, moored in the mouth of the harbour, and by a few batteries on the island of Amak. Lord Nelson attacked this tremendous force on the 2d of April, and silenced the firing of the batteries after an obstinate and bloody action which lasted four hours, taking, burning, and sinking about seventeen sail, including seven sail of the line. In killed and wounded the British lost nine hundred and forty-three men, while that of the Danes must have been at least double the number. A suspension of hostilities was the immediate consequence of this brilliant victory, and a treaty of armed neutrality to last for fourteen weeks.

After repairing the ships that were damaged upon this occasion, the British fleet sailed for Carlsrona, and appeared before it on the 19th of April. The governor here was immediately informed by the British admiral of what had hap-

pened at Copenhagen, requesting his Swedish majesty to give an explicit answer whether he meant to adhere to, or abandon the confederacy. The reply was very ambiguous; but having received the news of the sudden death of the emperor Paul, on the 23d of March, and lord Nelson, now commander in chief, writing in a more peremptory tone than the officer whom he had superseded, the court of Stockholm deemed it prudent to follow the example of that of Copenhagen. Alexander, the son and successor of Paul, possessed of more honour and justice than his father, restored all the British property which he had confiscated, relinquished his absurd claim to the island of Malta, and agreed that neutral vessels should be searched, when bound for any one country at war with another, which proved the grave of the northern confederacy.

CHAPTER X.

Campaign renewed in Germany.—Armistice.—Treaty of Luneville.—General Pacification.—Negotiation between France and England.—Peace of Amiens.—Buonaparte declared First Consul for Life.—Renewal of the War with England.—Buonaparte assumes the Title of Emperor.—Murder of the Duke D'Enghien.—Battle of Trafalgar.—Attack on Germany.—Treaty of Presburg.

WHEN the armistice was signed between the Austrian and French generals in the year 1800, the troops of the latter were in possession of Germany almost to the banks of the Inn, and of Italy to the frontiers of Venice; but the spirit of the emperor was yet unsubdued, and he would not abandon his allies by a confirmation of the preliminaries of peace which count St. Julian had agreed to at Paris, as he exceeded the powers with which he was intrusted. Kray having retired from service, the archduke John succeeded him, with whom the emperor in person repaired to the army; but they soon found it impracticable to act an offensive part against general Moreau, and therefore another armistice, comprehending Italy,

was agreed to. The emperor wished to include Britain in any treaty with France, but as Buonaparte would admit no plenipotentiary from that country without the benefit of a naval armistice, general Moreau received orders to go on with his military operations.

The army of Austria was now given to the command of generals whose very names were almost unknown beyond the confines of their own country, and who evinced but very little acquaintance with the military art. As Moreau was pondering on the plan of his winter campaign, the right wing of his army was attacked by the Austrians with such vigour, as had nearly reduced him to the necessity of acting on the defensive; and had general Klenau known his situation, so as to have made a temperate use of his victory on this occasion, the ruin of the French commander would have been inevitable, but the case was otherwise. Elated with his success, he abandoned his position on the Inn, and engaging his cautious and able antagonist at the village of Hohenlinden, was totally routed, with the loss of eighty pieces of cannon, two hundred caissons, and ten thousand prisoners, independent of a prodigious number left dead on the field.

General Moreau allowing the enemy no time to rally, proceeded directly towards the Inn, crossing it on the 9th of December, 1800, and driving his enemies before him, struck the court of Vienna

with consternation and dismay. Prince Charles was recalled to the command of the army, but after many fruitless efforts to retrieve its lost honour, he proposed an armistice on the 27th of December, which was granted by the French commander, on condition that it should be immediately followed by a definitive treaty. If the archduke could have had any dependence on his army, although very much weakened, this armistice, in all probability, would not have taken place, for the position of Moreau was perilous in the extreme. In the very heart of Austria, he had behind him on his right, about thirty thousand men in the Tyrol, with upwards of fifty thousand on his left. But Austrian valour was now almost extinguished by so many sad reverses, and some of the Austrian officers were not true to their trust.

This armistice was followed by a treaty of peace signed at Luneville on the 9th of February, 1801, between the emperor for himself and the Germanic body, and Buonaparte as first consul of the French republic, in the name of the people of France. By it the emperor ceded the Brisgau to the duke of Modena, for the territories lost by that prince in Italy, and bound himself to find indemnities in the Germanic empire for all those princes whom the war had deprived of dominions. The grand duke of Tuscany was to renounce his dukedom for ever, with its dependencies in the isle of Elba, to the infant duke of Parma, for

which the empire was to furnish him with an adequate indemnification.

On the 28th of March a treaty of peace was concluded between the French republic and the king of the Two Sicilies, by which his majesty obliged himself to shut all the ports of Naples and Sicily against ships of every description belonging either to the British or the Turks, till these powers should conclude a treaty with the French republic, and till England and the northern powers should come to a good understanding. He renounced for ever Porto Longano in the isle of Elba, his states in Tuscany, and the principality of Piombino, to be disposed of in such a manner as the French republic might think proper.

Great Britain had now none to assist her in her contest with France, but the Turks in Egypt and the Portuguese in Europe, powers which rather diminished than increased her strength, by dividing it. The Spaniards had made an attack upon Portugal at the desire of France, conquering some of its provinces; but a treaty of peace was concluded between them on the 6th of June, by which the king of Spain restored all his conquests except the fortress of Olivenza, and the prince regent of Portugal and Algarve promised to shut the ports of his whole territories against the ships of Great Britain, and to make indemnification to his Catholic majesty for all losses and damages sustained by his subjects during the war.

When Buonaparte had made peace with all his other enemies, he threatened Great Britain with an immediate invasion, which gave great uneasiness at first to a considerable part of the nation, but it gradually subsided. In order to diminish this alarm, lord Nelson was sent to destroy the shipping and harbour of Boulogne. His success in this undertaking fell short of the expectations which many had formed; but he made such an impression on the enemy on the 4th of August, as evinced that Great Britain could annoy the coast of France with more facility than France could that of England.

Attempts were again made by England during the summer of 1801, to negotiate. It was thought that Buonaparte could not but see, from the total dissolution of the northern confederacy, that it was impossible for him to ruin the British commerce; and, consequently, that all the treaties he had made for the purpose of excluding English ships from neutral ports would signify nothing. He seemed determined, however, to keep possession of Egypt; and the British, on the other hand, were as fully resolved to wrest it from him. On this account the negotiations were protracted, till the conquest of that country was known at London and Paris.

General Hutchinson took the command of the British forces in Egypt after the death of sir Ralph Abercromby; and he was probably acquainted with

the plans of his much-lamented predecessor; as one spirit seemed to actuate both. Rosetta soon surrendered, which was followed by the conquest of Cairo; and Menou having accepted of similar terms for Alexandria, the whole of Egypt fell into the hands of the allies, and the republican troops and baggage were conveyed to the nearest French ports in the Mediterranean, in ships furnished them by the allies. After these events, the negotiations between Great Britain and France were continued; and, on the 1st of October, the preliminaries of peace were signed at London by lord Hawkesbury on the part of his Britannic majesty, and M. Otto on that of the French republic, by which Great Britain engaged to give up all her conquests made during the continuance of the war, excepting the islands of Ceylon and Trinidad. The Cape of Good Hope was to be free to all the contracting parties; the island of Malta was to be given to the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; Egypt was to be given to the Ottoman Porte; Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity, except what was ceded to the king of Spain by the prince regent; Naples and the Roman states were to be evacuated by the French, Porto Ferrajo by the British, with all the ports and islands occupied by them in the Mediterranean; and plenipotentiaries were appointed to meet at Amiens, for the purpose of drawing up and signing a definitive treaty, which was concluded on the 22d of March, 1802.

It was celebrated at Paris, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, with great pomp and magnificence, and the celebration of the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in France, to which the majority of the people were warmly attached, gave additional importance to the scene.

When Buonaparte was elected first consul for ten years, he was deemed competent to be re-elected for the same length of time; but he afterwards obtained it for life, with the power of nominating his successor. Having advanced with such rapidity in the acquisition of power, it was extremely natural to conclude, that his ambition was not satiated, but that he would afterwards claim to himself, and influence an infatuated people to sanction, still higher degrees of dignity and grandeur. Indeed the history of his succeeding domination, presents but one continued series of ambitious projects and unprincipled aggressions.

Towards the termination of the year 1802*, Buonaparte was very active in his visitations of the

* About this time the miserably-celebrated Paine quitted France, who had so long and so zealously employed himself in the service of the destroyer, some particulars of whom may probably prove acceptable. Thomas Paine was born at Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, 29th January, 1736; his father, Joseph Paine, the son of a farmer, was one of the people called Quakers, and carried on the business of a stay-maker, which he also taught his son Thomas. At the age of sixteen, Thomas, growing weary of control, and of his

sea-port towns, where the most fulsome and impious addresses were presented to him. But a

parental guardians, repaired to London, from whence, after working a few weeks at his trade, he removed to Dover. Here, after embarking, in opposition to his father's remonstrances, on board a privateer, and returning from a cruize, he borrowed a few pounds and commenced business for himself (1759) as a staymaker at Sandwich, where he married Mary Lambert, daughter of an exciseman. His situation soon becoming painful, from his expenses outrunning his means, he was harassed by creditors, and fled to Margate, from whence, after having sold the few articles of furniture which he had conveyed from Sandwich, he again removed to London; where his wife, who besides her other hardships, had to endure repeated acts of cruelty from her husband, is said to have died in her confinement in 1760.

Paine now returned to his father, through whose influence with the recorder he obtained an appointment in the Excise (1761), from which he was, however, dismissed for improper conduct in 1765. In 1768, having regained his appointment, he was stationed at Lewes, and lodged with a grocer and tobacconist named Ollive, whose daughter he married at her father's death, and to whose business he succeeded. Soon after this he became again insolvent, and had his effects sold, was again dismissed from the Excise on charges of malpractice, separated from his wife, and in 1774 obtained a passage to America.

After his second dismissal from the Excise, Paine appears to have conceived an implacable hatred to the British government, and the spirit of revenge, operating upon a mind little cultivated, though naturally acute, may very well account for that inveteracy which afterwards distinguished him

state of peace ill suited him, and war was soon again resolved on.

as a writer. His literary career commenced in America, where he exerted himself to the utmost in fomenting those discordancies which at length issued in its separation from the parent country, though it seems by a late work* that the pamphlet called "Common Sense," which obtained him such eclat, was very materially assisted, if not altogether framed, by a different hand. In America he continued with some success till 1787, when as the headlong champion of republicanism he resolved on attempting to revolutionize England. But his first productions exciting little attention, he sunk into obscurity, and in 1789, was imprisoned for debt. At the moment of the revolution he made his way to Paris (1791), having just put forth his pamphlet called the "Rights of Man," the evil tendency of which occasioned its suppression, with the second part published in 1792. The daring tone rather than any other feature of this work excited attention to it, for though there are, perhaps, always profligate and abandoned persons who are ready to wish there were no controlling power, moral or divine, as a check on their depraved passions, yet the theory is too absurd and horrid to admit of argument, and, therefore, the attempt is rare. In England the author of the "Rights of Man" was contemned, burned in effigy, prosecuted, and fled again to Paris, where he found immediate shelter and support among the anarchists. On the ascendancy of one party he was imprisoned, on that of another honoured, and in this strong hold of atheism he prepared his impious trash called "The Age of Reason," of which it may be said, that it principally misled those who desired to be misled. It was

* Vide Dr. Franklin's Works, 4to. vol. 1, page 291.

On the 21st of February, 1803, a view of the state of France was laid before the legislative body and the tribunate, containing a comprehensive account of the relations of the republic, both with respect to colonies and foreign states ; but the most important part of it had a reference to England, which was charged with acting improperly in retaining troops in Malta and Egypt, after the suppressed, like his other publications, on its appearance in England.

The fame for which Mr. Paine had been so long and so wretchedly labouring, at length seemed entirely to desert him ; and at Paris he appears to have been lost among a crowd of contemporary adventurers. On the advancement of Buonaparte he quitted France for the last time, 1802, and again removed to America. His indecent manners and habit of intoxication increasing with his years, rendered him a burden to all, and on the 8th of June, 1809, he expired, in the seventy-third year of his age, under a darkness of mind which formed a tremendous contrast to the general composure of those who are actuated by the truths which he had endeavoured to invalidate. But, however sophisms may suffice in life and vigour,

“ A death-bed’s a detector of the heart,

Truth is deposited with man’s last hour.”

In his dying agony, this miserable man exclaimed loudly and constantly, “ Lord, help me ! God, help me ! Jesus Christ, help me ! ” His medical attendant asked, if he believed, or wished to believe, in the divine persons whom he addressed ; but his recollections returning, he gave this dreadful answer, when about to sink into an invisible and unknown world, “ I have *no wish* to believe on that subject ! ”

signing of the definitive treaty. It divided its inhabitants into two parties, representing the one as having sworn implacable enmity to France, and the other as anxious to maintain the relations of peace and amity.

A long and tedious correspondence was carried on between Great Britain and France, by means of lord Whitworth and M. de Talleyrand, which was laid before the British parliament on the 18th of May, 1803. Officers were dispatched by Buonaparte to the principal sea-ports of Great Britain, vested with the character of commercial agents, but they were in fact detected in sounding the harbours, and in drawing plans of the ports; a glaring proof that some desperate blow was meditated against England, and hostilities commenced on the 16th of May, letters of marque being issued against the French republic.

All subjects belonging to Great Britain who were now found in France and Holland were arrested and detained; an event which was speedily followed by the march of a republican army towards Osnaburgh and Hanover, the former of which was taken possession of by general Mortier on the 26th of May, after which he took the town of Bentheim, and the Hanoverian garrison were made prisoners of war. Osnaburgh was abandoned by the Hanoverians on the 28th, and two days after the French got possession of Quackenbrook. His royal highness the duke of Cam-

bridge was determined to stand or fall with the electorate; but as he was at the head of no more than a handful of troops compared with the army of Mortier, the regency urged him to retire from the command, as the probability of success was entirely against him. The duke, therefore, returned to Bremen, and reached Yarmouth on the 13th of June, along with prince William of Gloucester.

General Mortier was waited upon by deputies from the regency, who begged that he would suspend his march, and proposed a capitulation. By which the Hanoverian troops were permitted to surrender on their parole, and agreed not to take up arms against France during the continuance of the war. Sums were to be raised for maintaining the republican army, while private property was to be held sacred. But notwithstanding this promise, it was said that more flagrant acts of cruelty and injustice were scarcely ever perpetrated by people professing to be civilized, which private letters stated thus: "In the city of Hanover, and even in the public streets, women of the highest rank have been outraged by the lowest of the brutal soldiery, in the presence of their husbands and fathers, and subjected at the same time to such additional and undescribable violence, as their brutal fury, inflamed by drunkenness, could contrive. Nor have we heard that the philosophers of Göttin-

gen, the enthusiasts of equality and perfectibility, have been at all better treated."

It had always been a favourite object with Buonaparte, to do as much injury as possible to the commerce of Great Britain, and therefore he now determined to shut the ports of the Weser and the Elbe; and also insisted on the ports of Denmark being closed against vessels belonging to Great Britain, proposing to plant a French garrison in the city of Copenhagen. The French having put themselves in possession of the exclusive navigation of the Elbe, Great Britain determined to blockade it with ships of war, as a report then prevailed that Buonaparte would make use of that port for the purpose of invading Scotland.

At this time the French army in St. Domingo was in a most melancholy condition, as appeared from the information contained in some intercepted letters. Although about ten thousand men reached the island, in three months after general Rochambeau's arrival, when they were landed in the different ports, scarcely any traces of a reinforcement could be perceived, so much had his army suffered. The atrocities of the troops in their turn were also said to be great, and complaints made to the commanding officers were answered with threats. It appeared that Rochambeau was obliged to have recourse to absolute falsehood, in order to keep up the spirits of his

troops, and allay their discontent; giving out, what he knew could not be the case, that a reinforcement of twenty thousand men was daily expected.

At this time, the ministry of Great Britain used every effort to place their country in a secure and respectable state of defence, should the insatiable ambition of Buonaparte lead him seriously to attempt invading it. The intelligent part of the people indeed believed that he never intended to hazard the consequences of what he threatened, yet it was deemed prudent to prepare for such an event. The troops of the line were therefore industriously and successfully recruited, the militia were called out and kept in actual service, and an army of reserve was raised with the utmost expedition. Having almost five hundred thousand troops of different kinds, England had no just reason to apprehend any attack, being able to accomplish the destruction of the boldest invader. These troops were encamped along the coast, garrison towns were properly supplied with men, the greatest force was concentrated wherever the probability of a landing was strongest, and care was taken of the health of the military, as well as of the appointment of able generals to command them. Provisions, ammunition, and stores, were collected in abundance. As it was natural to conclude that London would be the great object of an invading army, the utmost attention was

paid to the defence of those parts of the coast most adjacent to it.

Similar efforts were made to prevent the approach of the enemy by sea, and render his designs wholly abortive. To lord Keith and admiral Montague was intrusted the command of the channel fleet; and an attempt was made at Granville to disconcert the preparations of France, by a detachment of ships under the command of sir James Saumarez, which was so far attended with success as to intimidate the inhabitants, damage a number of houses, and destroy some boats in the harbour. Similar attacks upon Calais and Boulogne also tended to convince the French residing on the coast that they were far from being secure, although total destruction was not the consequence of such exertions. Lord Nelson then guarded the Italian seas, and sir Edward Pellew and sir Robert Calder were stationed off Ferrol.

In the mean time the republican army in Hanover continued to oppress the inhabitants, and to devour the resources of that electorate. The Dutch were made to suffer almost as much from their new allies and pretended friends, as the inhabitants of a conquered country. They were dragged into a war, of which they certainly wished to be the unconcerned spectators, compelled to raise and maintain a large body of native troops, to receive garrisons into all their strong towns, to give up their sea-ports to the French, and expose

their whole country as a scene of passage and encampment to the armies of the republic. Their trade was ruined, and their ports were blocked up by the British at sea, on account of their alliance with France. The inhabitants of the Belgic provinces annexed to France were also severe sufferers by the levies of conscripts, the interruption which their trade and manufactures met with from the war, and the rigour by which they were governed. It was reported that Buonaparte had three hundred thousand effective men in readiness along the coast and the places adjacent, and that two thousand eight hundred men were incessantly employed, in augmenting and repairing the fortifications at Boulogne.

During the month of November, 1803, the sea-coasts of Great Britain and Ireland received fresh accessions of strength, with the view that if ever troops from France should venture to attempt a landing, they might be assured of meeting with a proper reception. The garrison of Plymouth was augmented to thirteen thousand seven hundred landmen, besides one thousand five hundred seamen and marines. A battery was erected at Paul Point, for the defence of the Humber, and two others were to be built opposite to it in Lincolnshire. Exertions equally spirited were continued by sea. Sir Sidney Smith cruised off the Texel, and drove on shore, on the coast of Holland, twelve armed ships of the enemy, three of which were

captured. During the month of February, 1804, the French and Dutch ports continued to be blockaded by the British navy with the utmost vigilance, a measure which the tempestuous nature of the weather frequently rendered hazardous. The preparations for an invasion were still continued on the part of France, but no force of any consequence found it practicable to put to sea, owing to the vigilance of our cruizers. A number of gun-boats were taken at different times off Boulogne, and different other parts of the French and Dutch coasts, which might have convinced the people of these countries of the absurdity of expecting to accomplish any thing decisive against Great Britain by such inadequate means.

It was the opinion of the discerning part of mankind, long before it happened, that the ambition of Buonaparte would not remain satisfied with the dignity of first consul, even for life; for although he could receive no real additions to his power and influence, yet there was reason to believe that the sound of such titles as have always been deemed higher and more dignified, would be too fascinating for him to resist. Accordingly, on the 25th of April, 1804, a most preposterous and ridiculous decree was issued by the tribunate at Paris, soliciting his acceptance of the new dignity which his sagacity had devised*.

* It reads thus:—"The tribunate, considering that at the breaking out of the revolution, when the national will had

This decree was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the only member (Carnot), who delivered his sentiments against its adoption.

It was contrived also that the senate should

an opportunity of manifesting itself with the greatest freedom, the general wish was declared for the individual unity of the supreme power, and for the hereditary succession of that power :

“ That the family of the Bourbons, having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to lose sight of its advantages, and drove the nation to seek for a happier destiny in a democratical form of government :

“ That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from these trials only the miseries of anarchy :

“ That the state was in the greatest peril, when Buonaparte, brought back by Providence, suddenly appeared for its salvation :

“ That the consulship for life, and the power granted to the first consul of appointing his successor, are not adequate to the prevention of intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the supreme power :

“ That in declaring that magistracy hereditary, conformity is observed at once to the example of all great states, ancient or modern, and the first wish of the nation expressed in 1789 :

“ That, enlightened and supported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wish more strongly than ever, and expresses it on all sides :

“ That when France demands for her security an hereditary chief, her gratitude and affection call on Buonaparte :

“ That France may expect from the family of Buona-

present an address to the first consul, in which they took great pains to convince him that the safety of France, and the happiness of Europe, depended entirely upon his acceptance of the title of emperor of the French, and upon its being made hereditary in his illustrious family. The different divisions of the army of course sent addresses to the first consul, *entreating him to condescend to become emperor of France.*

parte, more than from any other, the maintenance of the rights and liberty of the people :

“ That there is no title more suitable to the glory of Buonaparte, and to the dignity of the supreme chief of the French nation, than the title of emperor.

“ The tribunate have come to the following vote :

“ That Napoleon Buonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed emperor of the French, and in that capacity be invested with the government of the French republic :

“ That the title of emperor and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture :”

To close this preposterous farce he thus addressed the conservative senate :—

“ SENATORS,

“ Your address of the 6th last Germinal has never ceased to be present to my thoughts. It has been the object of my most constant meditation.

“ You have judged the hereditary power of the supreme magistracy necessary, in order to shelter the French people completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agitations which arise from rival ambitions. It even ap-

The new *emperor* was allowed to adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers, if arrived

pears to you, that many of our institutions ought to be improved, in order to secure for ever the triumph of equality and public liberty, and present to the nation and to the government the double guarantee they are in want of.

“ In proportion as I fix my attention upon these great objects, I am still more convinced of the verity of those sentiments which I have expressed to you, and I feel more and more, that in a circumstance as new as it is important, the councils of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix my ideas.

“ I request you then to make known to me the whole of your thoughts.

“ The French people can add nothing to the honour and glory with which it has surrounded me ; but the most sacred duty for me, as it is the dearest to my heart, *is to secure to its latest posterity* those advantages which it has acquired by a revolution that has cost it so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights. Fifteen years have past since, by a spontaneous movement you ran to arms, you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nations are now secured to you for ever, are sheltered from every tempest, they are preserved to you and your children ; institutions conceived and begun in the midst of the storms of interior and exterior wars, developed with constancy, are just terminated, in the noise of the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of every thing which the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated as proper to guarantee the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness.”

at the age of eighteen years complete, and he without legitimate children of his own; but this privilege was not to be enjoyed by his successors. Failing both legitimate and adopted heirs, the crown was to be enjoyed by Joseph Buonaparte and his descendants; and failing Joseph and his descendants, it was to devolve on Louis Buonaparte and his descendants, &c. If a successor were not to be found in any of these channels, a *Senatus consultum*, proposed to the senate by the dignities of the empire, and submitted for the acceptance of the people, should nominate an emperor. It was also decreed that the members of the imperial family should be called French princes, and the eldest son of the family, the imperial prince. Among other things it was enacted, that every emperor, two years after he ascended the throne, should swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the *French republic*!

The trial of several state prisoners commenced at Paris on the 29th of May, 1804, who were charged with conspiring against the life and government of Buonaparte; and even the justly celebrated general Moreau was included in the number! The envy and jealousy of Buonaparte could alone have implicated this great man in such a charge, as he was heard to say on the arrival of the new emperor from Egypt;—"this is the man who is necessary to save France." Georges, with eleven of his associates, were con-

demned and executed on the 25th of June; the gallant Moreau and four more, were sentenced to suffer two years' imprisonment, and about eighteen were acquitted. Some of those who were condemned were afterwards pardoned by the clemency of Buonaparte, moved by the fascinating charms of female eloquence and tears. The sentence of imprisonment against Moreau was commuted to banishment for life to the United States of America.

While the fate of these persons was preparing, the supposed hostility of a prince of the house of Bourbon led the usurper to the commission of an atrocious act of wanton cruelty. Louis duke D'Enghein, grandson of the prince de Condé, who had served among the royalists in the preceding war, was suddenly apprehended in the neutral territory of Baden by Caulincourt and a party of dragoons, conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, and accused of having solicited a commission in the British service, of being the leader of a body of armed emigrants, and of a participation in the late conspiracy. Being condemned after an irregular process by a military committee, he was conducted at night into a neighbouring wood, and shot by some Italian mercenaries.

This outrage excited general horror even in France. But the terrors of despotism silenced the rising murmurs, and stifled the expression of a just indignation.

The coronation of Buonaparte took place in the month of December, 1804, which was accompanied on the part of the people by such demonstrations of apparent satisfaction as evinced the degraded state of the public mind in this unfortunate country. After receiving a number of the most fulsome speeches, filled entirely with bombast and falsehood, Buonaparte delivered the following address:—"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great *destinies* of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of Great. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them; and I must add here, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. *My descendants shall long preserve this throne.* In the field they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates they will never forget, that contempt of the laws, and the confusion of social order, are only the result of the imbecility and uncertainty of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the prop and first counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire." On the 16th of the same month, a very

splendid entertainment was given to the *emperor* and *empress* by the city of Paris.

A naval victory, the most glorious and decisive, was gained by the British under vice-admiral lord Nelson over the combined fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st of October, 1805. The British commander-in-chief gave the signal for bearing up in two columns as they formed in the order of sailing, a mode of attack which had been previously ordered by his lordship, to prevent the delay and inconvenience of forming the line of battle in the manner usually adopted. The fleet of the enemy consisted of thirty-three ships, under the command of the French admiral Villeneuve. The Spanish division, under admiral Gravina, formed the line of battle with great coolness and skill, the heads of the ships being turned to the northward. The manner of attack was uncommon, and the formation of their line was consequently new. Few signals were necessary from the commander of the British fleet, because the flag officers and captains were made previously acquainted with the admiral's whole plan. The weather column was led by the brave Nelson, who fell in this action on board the *Victory*, and lord Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, took charge of the leeward division. The leading ships of the British columns breaking through the enemy's line, was the signal for commencing the attack, which began about twelve

o'clock. The ships of the enemy were fought in such a manner as did the highest honour to the officers by whom they were commanded, but they opposed a force which was not to be vanquished. About three o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's line gave way, many of their ships having struck their colours. Admiral Gravina then steered for Cadiz; and nineteen sail of the line, of which two were first rates, fell into the hands of the victors, and three flag-officers, Villeneuve, Don Ignatia Maria d'Aliva, and Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros, were made prisoners.

At the same time that the British navy acquired this most signal victory over the combined fleets of France and Spain, Buonaparte carried his victorious arms through the heart of Germany, and forced the emperor of that country to abandon his metropolis. He left Paris on the 24th of September, 1805, to join the army, and reached Strasburgh on the 26th, accompanied by his consort Josephine. Here he issued a manifesto, in which he mentioned the commencement of the war of what he termed the *third coalition*, which he said was created and maintained by the gold and hatred of England. He declared he would fight till he had secured the independence of the Germanic body, and never again make peace without sufficient security of its continuance. He crossed the Rhine at Kehl on the 1st of October, and on the evening of the same day arrived at

Ettlingen, where the elector of Baden was presented to him, along with his two sons. On the 2d he went to Stutgard, where the king of Wirtemberg received him in the most magnificent manner, and the city was illuminated. The king of Wirtemberg agreed to furnish six thousand men for the assistance of France, and the elector of Baden four thousand.

The French armies on the coast reached the banks of the Rhine in the month of September, and crossed that river on the 25th. General Bernadotte reached Franconia on the 23d, where he was joined by the Bavarian army of twenty thousand infantry and cavalry; by the army of Holland under Marmont, and the Batavian division. This army of Bernadotte, about forty thousand strong, constituted the fifth division of the grand French army. It is remarkable that these three great men, Jourdan, Lecourbe, and Macdonald, were not employed; the reason assigned for which measure is, that Buonaparte suspected them of disloyalty ever since the condemnation of that singular officer Moreau. Bernadotte marched directly for the Danube on the 2d of October, and took a position at Ingolstadt. The rapidity with which the French forces moved seems to have disconcerted the Austrian commander completely, as no arrangements were made to oppose their progress.

Hostilities commenced on the 7th, when the

Austrians were defeated with the loss of many killed, wounded, and prisoners, in attempting to oppose the passage of general Vandamme across the bridge of Donawert. Field-marshal Auffenberg, while on his march to Ulm, was completely surrounded by the French, and obliged to surrender. It is said that the Austrians here lost two colonels, five majors, sixty officers, and four thousand men made prisoners. Memmingen surrendered on the 14th to marshal Soult, after which he marched on to Biberach, in order to cut off the retreat of the Austrians by that road. Marshal Ney crossed the Danube, and made an attack upon Elchingen a little above Ulm. The Austrians made a sortie, but were driven back to their entrenchments before Ulm, with the loss, it is said, of three thousand men taken prisoners; and at Langenau their loss amounted to the same number, in an action with prince Murat, who commanded the cavalry. This officer again brought them to action on the 17th, when their loss was computed at one thousand men, and next day general Werneck's division was obliged to capitulate. From Albeck to Nuremberg, Murat is said to have got possession of one thousand five hundred waggons, and sixteen thousand prisoners; but prince Ferdinand effected his escape.

Ulm surrendered by capitulation on the 17th, and this unaccountable step was taken by general Mack, because Berthier assured him that the

Austrians were on the other side of the Inn ; that Lannes was in pursuit of prince Ferdinand ; that Werneck had capitulated, and that it was impossible for any succours to reach Ulm. After the surrender of this place, the Austrian generals who were made prisoners, were sent under an escort through Bavaria to Vienna, and Mack was intrusted with some proposals to the emperor of Germany.

On the 28th of October a spirited proclamation was issued by the emperor at Vienna, declaring that the views of Austria and Russia were extremely moderate, and execrating the designs and views of Buonaparte. Every division of the French army, except that under general Ney, crossed the river Inn on the 1st of November. Buonaparte himself was with the right wing at Saltsburgh ; and the centre, commanded by prince Murat, marched towards Lintz with uncommon rapidity. The Austrio-Russian army retreated to Maulk, fifty miles from Vienna, as the enemy advanced. The Austrians and Russians made no stand between the Ens and Vienna, which latter place the French entered on the 12th of October. Buonaparte arrived on the 13th, and took up his quarters in the palace of Schoenbrun, about two miles from the city of Vienna. The French troops on this occasion conducted themselves with propriety and decorum, which prevented any disturbance from taking place in the metropolis.

On the 27th of November, Buonaparte proposed an armistice, which was rejected with disdain. It was not long, however, before he discovered that the allies were acting from presumption, of which circumstance he was well qualified to take advantage. At sunrise the battle commenced, and a tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line, the result of two hundred pieces of cannon, and two hundred thousand men in action. In less than an hour the whole left wing of the allies was cut off, their right being by that time at Austerlitz, the head quarters of the Russian and Austrian emperors. From the heights of this place the emperors witnessed the total defeat of the Russians by the French guard. The loss sustained by the allies during the whole of this battle was estimated at one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with forty-five stand of colours, and eighteen thousand Russians; six hundred Austrians were left dead on the field. On the 5th of December an interview took place between the emperor of Austria and Buonaparte, which lasted for two hours. An armistice was mutually agreed to, which was to serve as the basis of a definitive treaty. The emperor of Russia was comprehended in this armistice, on condition of marching home his army in such a manner as Buonaparte might think proper to prescribe. By virtue of the treaty of peace, the French agreed to evacuate Brunn on the 4th of January, Vienna on the 10th, and

the whole Austrian states in six weeks after the signing of the treaty, except such as were ceded to Italy and Bavaria.

It is certain, however, that the loss of the Russians in this terrible conflict was declared by the court of Petersburg to have been shockingly exaggerated by the French bulletins, which made the allied army amount to one hundred and five thousand, while it appears that the Russians were only fifty-two thousand strong, and the Austrians seventeen thousand. According to the Russian statement, they had not a deficit of more than seventeen thousand men after that memorable battle, while the French papers made it thirty-five thousand men killed on the field and taken prisoners, independent of twenty thousand who were drowned.

Buonaparte was elated beyond measure with the extraordinary success which attended his arms in this last attack upon Germany; and after the battle of Austerlitz his conduct was marked with the most horrid injustice, tyranny, and rapine, both with respect to Hanover and the unfortunate king of Naples. The unexpected turn which the issue of that battle gave to continental affairs, likewise changed the sentiments of the king of Prussia, on whose co-operation the allies at a former period had calculated. Indeed it must be confessed, that after the battle of Austerlitz, when both Austria and Russia were humbled by the

usurper, it would have been madness in him to have aimed a blow against France.

The troops of his Prussian majesty took possession of Hanover; and the country of Anspach was ceded to the king of Bavaria, who received his title from the hands of Buonaparte. The king of Naples took refuge in Sicily, hoping there to be protected from the vengeance of the self-elected monarch of France, by the united exertions of the naval force of England, Russia, and Sicily. His Neapolitan majesty no doubt often violated the treaties which he made with France; but it ought in charity to be remembered, that these treaties were made under the impulse of fear, the prospect of impending destruction, and to prevent a band of robbers from plundering both him and his subjects of their last shilling. When the affairs of the continent at any time wore a more favourable aspect, he no doubt trampled on such extorted treaties, in the hope of regaining that of which he had been unjustly deprived; and under such circumstances even justice itself cannot condemn him, and the dictates of humanity commiserate his misfortunes.

While the arms of Buonaparte were victorious in Europe, his naval force in the West Indies received a fresh proof of the power of England by sea. A squadron under the command of admiral Duckworth, engaged and destroyed a French squadron on the 7th of February, about thirty-six

miles from the town of St. Domingo. Three of them, one of eighty-four, and two of seventy-four guns, were taken by the gallant admiral; three made their escape, and two were committed to the flames, viz., one of eighty-four, and the other of one hundred and twenty guns. The loss sustained by the British on this occasion was comparatively small, considering the advantages of the conquest, the total amount of the slain being seventy-four, and of wounded two hundred and sixty-four. Much about the same time the important news of the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope arrived, an expedition which had been intrusted to admiral sir Home Popham, and general sir David Baird.

From the humbled situation of the emperor of Germany after the memorable battle of Austerlitz, it was natural to expect that he would feel it his interest to make peace with the French, and therefore such a treaty was signed and ratified on the 26th and 27th of December, 1805, at Presburg.

CHAPTER XI.

Buonaparte's Decrees for creating his Relatives and Friends, Kings and Nobles.—War with Prussia.—French enter Berlin.—Fall of Dantzic.—Conference between Buonaparte and the Emperor of Russia.—Peace of Tilsit.—French occupy Portugal.—Treachery of Buonaparte in Spain.—Captivity of the Royal Family.—Joseph Buonaparte declared King.—Spanish Patriotism.—War with Austria.—Battle of Wagram.—Invasion of the Tyrol.—Peace with Austria.—Buonaparte's Divorce and Marriage with the Austrian Archduchess.—His despotic Decrees.

AFTER having suffered the most unprecedented miseries, plunged in political crimes, and exhausted by factions; France seemed to fall into the hands of her new oppressor as an easy prey, wearied by an interminable pursuit, and anxious for repose at any hazard. In the successes which had so astonishingly attended the career of Buonaparte, misled multitudes even fancied themselves secure in their excesses; never having reflected on the instability of mere physical power abstracted from moral, they ventured to suppose that in the exaltation of a man who

scrupled not to violate all rights, that that wretched system must at length prevail which makes erring man his own dictator, governed by his inclinations—a disposition observed and flattered by the usurper, who, in the true republican spirit, always sought for his support in the lower feelings.

On the 31st of March, 1806, several acts were presented to the senate, among which were those for annexing the city and territories of Venice to the kingdom of Italy; for placing Joseph Buonaparte on the throne of Naples; for conferring the principality of Neufchatel on Berthier; and titles of high distinction, principally taken from places in Italy, on his most distinguished generals. Eugene Beauharnois, the son of Josephine, was at the same time appointed viceroy of Italy, and Holland was required to petition for the honour of being placed under one of his family, Louis Buonaparte being then proclaimed king of that country.

Some approaches were now made towards peace with England, but the negotiation failed; and Prussia being irritated by one of the proposed stipulations, the surrender of Hanover, and alarmed at the confederation of the Rhine, prepared for a new war. Early in October, hostilities commenced, and on the 14th a dreadful engagement took place at Jena. The force on each side was nearly equal, comprising about two hundred and fifty thousand men, and seven hundred pieces of cannon. At one period of the battle the

issue seemed doubtful, but it was turned in favour of the French by a charge of dragoons and cuirassiers; the Prussian infantry unable to resist them, were broken and thrown into confusion, the day was lost, and the Prussian army nearly annihilated, forty thousand being killed, wounded, and taken, including about twenty generals, among whom was the duke of Brunswick, mortally wounded. In consequence of this victory, Erfurt, Magdeburgh, and Stettin, all places of great strength and importance, were reduced; and on the 27th of October Buonaparte arrived at Berlin. The king of Prussia being thus overpowered, retreated to Koningsberg, where he waited the arrival of the Russians, without whose assistance he had imprudently engaged in the contest.

Those princes of Germany who had engaged in this short contest on the side of Prussia, were severely punished by the conqueror. The elector of Hesse, and the young duke of Brunswick, were deprived of their dominions. Mecklenburg was taken possession of. The elector of Saxony was however pardoned, as he had acted against the French by compulsion. Hanover was occupied, and Fulda, Cassell and Hamburg, were taken possession of in the name of Buonaparte.

In the mean time, the Russians destined for the support of Prussia had crossed the Vistula, under general Benningsen. The French also advanced into Poland, and by their manœuvres and

superior force, obliged the Russians to recross the Vistula. Their retreats, however, having enabled them to gain strong reinforcements, they again advanced and fixed their head-quarters at Pultusk. Here, on the 26th of December, a dreadful battle was fought, which continued for some time with considerable vicissitude, but at length terminated in the defeat of the Russians, who were compelled to retreat. They were, however, again reinforced, and early in 1807, engaged again in the contest at Eylau. The battle was long and desperate, and the victory might almost have been claimed by either party. Soon after the Russians were joined by their sovereign, the emperor Alexander, and his brother Constantine, with sixty thousand men.

On the 21st of May, Dantzic, after a severe siege, surrendered to the French; a place of considerable importance to Buonaparte, as Dantzic strengthened the left wing of his army, while the centre was supported by Thorn, and the right by Praga.

On the 8th of June, Buonaparte again attacked the Russians, whom he compelled to fall back to Friedland, where another severe engagement took place. The battle lasted from five in the morning till seven at night. At the close of the day, nearly all the French force fell on the centre of the Russians, it gave way, and they lost the day.

The Russian general now withdrew to the

neighbourhood of Tilsit, where he made preparation for renewing the contest; but he obtained an armistice on the 22d of June, and on the 24th Buonaparte and the emperor of Russia had an interview on a raft, on the Niemen. In consequence of which a treaty of peace was concluded at Tilsit on the 9th of July, 1807, stipulating that a new kingdom should be formed out of the conquered Prussian provinces, to be called Westphalia, the crown of which was to be given to Jerome Buonaparte. The new made kings from the adventurer's family, who were placed over Naples and Holland, were acknowledged, together with the confederation of the Rhine; and Russia and Prussia were to shut their ports against England, and thus become parties to the maritime war, the grand and favourite object of Buonaparte; by which, and the exclusion of British commerce from the continent, he in vain hoped to reduce that country which had now become almost his only remaining opponent.

In the course of this year the conscription of 1808 was anticipated for the first time, a measure to which Buonaparte afterwards often resorted. On his return to Paris, addresses on late events were multiplied; his flatterers found no language too extravagant for their purposes, and accordingly the most preposterous, as well as profane allusions, in his favour, were resorted to.

Having now succeeded in his spoliations in

Prussia, Buonaparte turned his attention towards Portugal, which he prepared to invade with forty thousand men; and although the king of Spain had long shewn himself the willing instrument of his schemes by engaging in a war with England, almost to his ruin, yet Buonaparte was not satisfied. The ambition of placing his brothers on the thrones of Europe had seized him, and though he had made Joseph Buonaparte king of Naples, yet he now determined to remove him to Spain, and bestow his place on Murat, who had married one of his sisters; accordingly treachery and force were immediately applied to this object.

The government of Spain, though perhaps the most absolute of all the European monarchies, had become under the king who now reigned (Charles IV.) exceedingly feeble, and some dissensions prevailed between himself and his son Ferdinand; these appearances seemed to promise well in favour of the schemes of Buonaparte, especially since he had contrived to secure the influence of Godoy (prince of the peace), the Spanish minister; but the strongest obstacle he appeared to disregard. The people—who being attached by habit, strict discipline, and political institutions, to their accustomed forms, soon shewed themselves little inclined to brook the domination of foreigners.

Buonaparte began his attempt on Spain, by first treating for its union with him in the dismember-

ment of the adjoining country, Portugal, by which he obtained permission to march his army through Spain to Lisbon; but the army so admitted far exceeded the stipulations, and through the treachery of Godoy, instead of passing on, they took possession of some of the strongest Spanish fortresses. Buonaparte now intimated that he expected the king of Spain to resign part of his dominions, hoping to intimidate and cause him to fly, as he had done the prince regent of Portugal; but the Spaniards were strongly averse to this measure, and being harassed on all sides, he was at length induced to resign the crown to his son, who was proclaimed king, March 19th, 1808, by the title of Ferdinand VII.

In the mean time, Murat advanced with his army to Madrid; and expecting that the whole royal family would retire, he entered that city before the new king could arrive there. Perplexed on all sides, Ferdinand inquired the intentions of France. He was referred to Buonaparte, who, it was said, was on his way to Spain. By artful methods, Ferdinand was induced to go to Vittoria, in order to meet Buonaparte. He was strongly advised against proceeding to Bayonne; but he determined to pass on, and was there informed of the arrogant determination of Buonaparte, that the House of Bourbon should no longer govern the country. He was offered certain indemnifications provided he would voluntarily resign the kingdom;

but this he positively refused, and he was therefore watched and guarded as a state prisoner.

Murat, in the mean time, assumed the most commanding air at Madrid ; and the citizens having opposed the carrying of the brother of Ferdinand to Bayonne, he had the unparalleled barbarity to order his troops to fire repeatedly through the streets, which produced dreadful carnage.

The prospect of the ruin which now seemed to threaten the country, by the slaughter of its inhabitants, and his own restricted and precarious circumstances, soon induced Ferdinand formally to resign the crown ; which he yielded to his father, and which Charles renounced in favour of Buonaparte, and which Buonaparte immediately placed on the head of his brother Joseph.

The accustomed farce of discussion for a new constitution was now instituted, but the Spanish people were strongly averse to these new and violent measures ; and they accordingly began to assemble in opposition. They solicited aid from England, the rallying point of every brave effort throughout these dismal days of horror and oppression, and measures of succour were immediately accorded. The French fleet at Cadiz was seized. The new made king was expelled from Madrid, and a general spirit of ardent patriotism pervaded all ranks ; from whence arose a contest,

which though it might fluctuate, yet it never subsided, until the aggressor was, by one common burst of feeling and of power, deprived of his ill-gotten and misused authority.

The same system of concealment and misrepresentation which Buonaparte had practised respecting all his reverses, he extended to the affairs of Spain. In 1808, when Joseph Buonaparte was obliged to leave Madrid, not a word was said of Spain in the *Moniteur*. But his reverses, and the enthusiasm, as well as the extent of the opposition to him in the Peninsula, were well known in all parts of Europe, and received, as might be expected, with satisfaction and joy. Austria, who had reluctantly submitted to the last peace, had been for some time employed in bringing her finances into order, and in forming magazines on her frontier. These circumstances did not fail to excite the suspicion of Buonaparte, and a long correspondence took place on the subject between the Austrian ambassador at Paris and the French minister for foreign affairs; but the Austrians persevered in their military preparations notwithstanding the remonstrances and even the threatening language of the latter.

Orders were therefore transmitted from Paris to the members of the confederation of the Rhine to call out their respective quotas of troops, eighty thousand of whom were taken into the pay of France, and sent into that country to replace

those French troops whom it was found necessary to send into Spain. Under the circumstances in which he was placed, it was of great importance for Buonaparte to secure the neutrality of the emperor of Russia; a conference, therefore, took place between them on the 27th of September at Erfurth, in the former electorate of Mayence. The emperor seemed to enter into the views of Buonaparte, and the latter in return agreed to evacuate the Prussian territories as soon as the contributions, which he reduced to one-third, were made up. By this concession to the wishes of the emperor of Russia, Buonaparte set at liberty a great number of his troops, who were instantly marched for the Peninsula. The two sovereigns also agreed to propose peace to England, but the proposal was rejected. This year did not pass over without new and additional proofs of the rapacious and insatiable nature of Buonaparte's ambition. The military posts of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel on the Rhine, and Flushing, were annexed to France, on the east and north; while on the side of Italy, Rome, Parma, Placentia, and Ancona, suffered a similar fate.

Though Austria had been long preparing for the renewal of hostilities with France, yet she did not issue a formal declaration of war till the 6th of April, 1809. At this period she had an army consisting of nine corps, each corps consisting of thirty thousand men; the first six were under the

immediate orders of the archduke Charles, the seventh was under the archduke John, in Poland. Besides these there were two corps of reserve, one of twenty thousand men, commanded by prince John of Lichtenstein; the other of ten thousand under general Kinmayer, and about twenty-five thousand partisans in the Tyrol, Carinthia, and on the confines of Bohemia. The French were not inferior in respect to numbers, and they occupied the following positions: a corps entirely of French at Ratisbon under marshal Davoust, another under Massena at Ulm, and a third under Oudinot at Augsburg; three divisions of Bavarians were posted at Munich, Landshut, and Strasburg; the Saxons were encamped under the walls of Dresden, and the Poles near Warsaw. As soon as Buonaparte learnt that the Austrians had crossed the Inn, he left Paris on the 13th of April, on the 17th he arrived at Donarvert, where he fixed his head-quarters on the 19th; the different corps of the French began to unite at Ingolstadt; the plan of Buonaparte was unfolded, which was to manœuvre on the Austrians, whose line was extended from Neustadt to Landshut, to break the line and come between the archduke Charles and his brother. In consequence of the successes of the French, particularly at Eckmuhl, the archduke was forced to cross the Danube at Ratisbon, in order to form a junction with general Bellegarde, who had been employed in keeping

the French in check on the frontier of Bohemia. The archduke finding he could not defend Ratisbon, was obliged to continue his retreat, and Buonaparte following the course of the Danube, advanced rapidly to Vienna. On the 10th of May he appeared before this city, which, after some shew of resistance, he entered.

The archduke Charles, having learnt the fate of Vienna, moved down on the left bank of the Danube for the purpose of watching the motions of the French, and fixed his head-quarters on the 16th of May at Ebersdorf. Buonaparte immediately formed the design of attacking him here, and for this purpose marched along the south bank of the river to about the distance of six miles from Vienna, at which place its breadth and rapidity are broken by two islands. At this point he resolved to cross it. As the French advanced the archduke retreated, and the right wing of the former was posted near the village of Essling, while the left was supported by the village of Aspern. Here on the 21st and 22d two dreadful and sanguinary battles were fought; the battle of the 21st was terminated only by the darkness of the night, at which time the French were driven from Aspern, but still retained Essling. On the morning of the 22d they regained Aspern, but by repeated attacks the Austrians succeeded in driving them both from it and Essling. In the night between the 22d and 23d they retreated from the

left bank of the Danube, and took up a position on one of the islands. In the mean time the war was proceeding in Italy, where the archduke John and the viceroy Eugene Beauharnois were opposed to each other. At first the archduke was successful; Padua and Vicenza were taken, the Adige crossed, and Venice threatened; but the viceroy having been reinforced, retook Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Buntz, and drove the Austrians before him. At this period these hostile armies were called for, in order to reinforce the grand armies on the Danube, but as they were proceeding towards Austria from Italy, they met at Raab, where a severe engagement took place on the 14th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo. The battle began at two o'clock in the afternoon, and though the French were superior in numbers, victory was long doubtful; at length, the troops of the Hungarian insurrection, unaccustomed to service, gave way, and the Austrians were forced to save themselves by flight. The archduke Charles retreated to Comorn, in order to secure his junction with the army of Austria, while the viceroy about the same time joined the French.

On the 4th of July, the whole army of Buonaparte was concentrated in or near the island in the Danube, where the archduke Charles had not deemed it prudent to attack them. Buonaparte having been reinforced by the viceroy, resolved to

cross the river, and try the issue of another engagement with the archduke; for this purpose, three bridges were thrown across it, by which he intended to pass, and another bridge opposite to Essling was erected in order to draw off the archduke to that quarter.

In the space of two hours during the night of the 4th, while the Austrians were expecting to be attacked in their right near Essling, the French passed the Danube, and on the morning of the 5th appeared drawn up on the left of the Austrians. This manœuvre, by which the archduke had been completely deceived, gave Buonaparte great advantage, which he did not fail to profit by in the obstinate but decisive battle of Wagram, which was fought on the evening of the 5th, and during the 6th of July, 1809. From the first movements on the former day the archduke was obliged to give up his intrenchments, and on the 6th, Buonaparte with great strength attacked the centre of the Austrians; who were compelled to give way, and whose wings being thus exposed, also retreated. After this battle all thoughts of serious resistance to Buonaparte were given up; proposals for an armistice were carried to him from the emperor Francis, which was agreed to and signed immediately, and by one article it was stipulated, that the Austrians were not to afford any succour to the Tyrolese.

These brave and bold mountaineers, as soon as

they learned the rupture between France and Austria, resolved to use their utmost endeavours to shake off the yoke of Bavaria. At first they were successful; the Bavarian troops, though twenty-seven thousand strong, having been defeated by them. A still greater force was then sent against them under marshal Le Febre, consisting of French, Bavarian, and Saxon troops. These they could not venture to meet in the field, but taking advantage of the nature of their country, they destroyed thousands of them as they passed through the gorges of the mountains, by precipitating masses of rock on them. When, however, the armistice was concluded between France and Austria, their cause became hopeless, though they continued for some time afterwards to fight obstinately for their national independence. On the 14th of October a treaty of peace was signed at Vienna between France and Austria. By this treaty the latter ceded all her sea-coast and the kingdoms of Bavaria and Saxony were enlarged, so as to become sufficient checks on her. Prussia was recompensed for her neutrality by the cession of part of Galicia, and the emperor Francis agreed to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte king of Spain.

Buonaparte thus succeeding in all his plans of aggrandizement, except what regarded Spain; and being, doubtless, convinced that that country also would soon be reduced, having fixed all his

brothers (except Lucien) on thrones, began to reflect on the probable fate of the empire on the event of his death. There was no expectation of his having issue by Josephine; besides, even if there were, his power would be much more firmly consolidated by his being united with some of the ancient sovereign families of Europe.

Considerations of political ambition suggested that by such a marriage not only would his empire be strengthened, and if there were issue from it, rendered secure after his death, but his personal vanity would be gratified. The divorce of the empress Josephine, to whom he appears to have been much attached, was therefore resolved upon, and she seems to have consented to the measure without reluctance. It took place December, 1809, but it was not till the 27th of February, 1810, that it was publicly and certainly known whom he intended to marry. On that day he announced, by a message to the senate, that Berthier had been sent by him to Vienna to demand for him the hand of the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor Francis. The ceremony of marriage was performed on the 11th of March at Vienna, the archduke Charles representing Buonaparte on this occasion!

Early in 1810 Buonaparte began to unfold his designs upon Holland. A French army of forty thousand men occupied it, but at first he seemed disposed to be content with the annexation of

only part of it—the left bank of the Waal. As this, however, did not serve his purpose of totally excluding British goods, about the middle of June twenty thousand French troops assembled in the neighbourhood of Utrecht, and on the 29th of that month the king of Holland received official information that his brother insisted on the occupation of Amsterdam, and the establishment of French head-quarters in that capital. Louis therefore resigned his throne, but at first only in favour of his son. Soon afterwards, however, Holland was annexed to France.

Upon the annexation of Holland, Amsterdam was to rank as the third city in the French empire, Rome being the second. The whole population under Buonaparte's domination before the annexation of Rome, Holland, the Valais, and the Hans Towns, was stated at 38,080,443 persons, not including the military actually bearing arms. After these annexations it was computed at 43,000,000. Hanover was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia. To recruit the French armies the conscription was again anticipated, one hundred and twenty thousand of the conscripts of 1811 being placed at the disposal of the minister of war for 1810. Buonaparte now issued the most vexatious and despotic decrees at Paris: by one of them all servants of both sexes were obliged to register their names in a book kept by the prefect of the police. By another the liberty of the press was

utterly destroyed, the number of printers reduced to sixty, and those in the departments in the same proportion, the number of printing-presses in the capital were to be only four, in each department only two. Another decree respecting prisons expressly declared that there were many persons charged with crimes against the state whom it was not safe either to liberate or bring to trial. But his most severe papers were levelled against the introduction of British merchandise into the continent; and not only were military governors appointed at the ports of Germany annexed to France, but at Dantzic, Colberg, &c., for preventing its introduction. General Rapp, who commanded the army employed in this singular service, had his head-quarters at the former place; and all English merchandise, whether taken by land or sea, was ordered to be burnt.

As, however, the prohibition of colonial produce created great dissatisfaction, a decree was passed on the 25th of March, 1811, enjoining the culture of the beet-root and the plant woad, to supply the place of the sugar-cane and indigo; and so confident was Buonaparte of success in this scheme, that the prohibition of the sugar and indigo of the Indies, as English commodities, was announced for the 1st of January, 1813. On the 20th of April the arch-duchess, consort of Buonaparte, was delivered of a son, who was called king of Rome. On the 17th of June the French

national ecclesiastical council was opened at Paris, the proceedings and results of which were kept a profound secret, but it was generally supposed that they were not agreeable to the wishes of Buonaparte. On the 29th of June the minister of the interior presented the usual annual exposé of the state of France.

The restlessness of Buonaparte's ambition, which when there was no opportunity for making real accessions to the French empire, employed itself in the nominal annexation of territories which in fact had been before annexed, was displayed by the decree of the 5th of August, by which the territories belonging to the kingdom of Italy situated on the left bank of the river that flows between Parma and Modena, were united to France, and its course from its mouth to its source was to be the future boundary between France and Italy, the boundary then proceeding along the Apennines to the frontiers of Tuscany. On the 19th of September Buonaparte left Compeigne on a tour to the coast, visiting Boulogne, and thence proceeded to Ostend, Flushing, and Antwerp, where he minutely examined all the works that were going on in the dock-yard and the ships that were building. From Antwerp he went to Amsterdam, whence on the 13th of October he issued a decree for assembling in council the deputies to the legislative body from the Dutch departments; in consequence of this meeting a number of decrees were

issued, the most important of which were to the following purpose: The departments and their boundaries—the introduction of the French system of taxation into Holland on the 1st of January, 1812—the establishment of two imperial manufactories for tobacco—roads with their tolls—canals—aqueducts for conveying water from Amsterdam to the Hague—the proportion of the budget in Holland for the year 1810, by which the revenue is fixed at ninety-five millions of livres, and the expenses at one hundred and eleven millions—the establishment of two academies and secondary schools on the French plan, &c. Buona-
parte returned to Paris on the 11th of November, and soon after issued an order for the immediate call of one hundred and twenty thousand conscripts of the year 1812.

CHAPTER XII.

War in Spain.—Disputes with Russia.—Russia invaded by Buonaparte.—State of the War.—Defeat of the French.—Their ruinous Retreat and Sufferings.—They are pursued.—Coalition between the Russians and Prussians.—Extended to the principal continental Powers.—Battle of Leipsic.—Progress of the Allies.—Disasters of Buonaparte.—Invasion of France.—Surrender of Paris.—Affairs in the South.—King's Restoration.—Elba assigned to Buonaparte.

THE contest in Spain had been continued without intermission, and had afforded many striking examples of heroic conduct both among the natives and the British, who had generously undertaken to act as their allies. Sir Arthur Wellesley commenced those military measures, which have since yielded him such high honour, in Portugal in the autumn of 1808, and the French were speedily compelled to evacuate that country. The Spaniards at the first had the assistance of thirty thousand British, under sir John Moore, but after some advances he found it needful to retreat, from the want of co-operation on the part of the natives. The French force also increasing, he

retired to Corunna, where he engaged the army under Soult with the most determined valour. The British maintained their ground and completed their re-embarkation, but their commander received a wound which terminated fatally. The career of sir Arthur Wellesley was distinguished by the strictest discipline and the most vigorous movements. After having retired by treaty, the French again invaded Portugal: in consequence of this, sir Arthur Wellesley obtained the opportunity of displaying a skill and energy at the battle of Talavera, which completely established his fame in the Peninsula.

In the treaty which Buonaparte had concluded at Tilsit with the emperor of Russia, it was stipulated that British produce should be prohibited in that country, but it was impossible that this article could be complied with, except at a vast expense, the trade between the countries being so great, that the infraction of the article became almost inevitable. Enraged at finding that his favourite scheme for the reduction of England had been thus interrupted, and being further denied by Russia the possession of Finland by Sweden, he resolved on a measure which proved the first step to his own ruin, by determining to employ the immense force he had acquired in attempting to seize the Russian territory; where, in the agonies of his destroying army, and in his own entire defeat and disgrace, he, whose ears had been so long deaf to

the cries of suffering humanity, and who had never turned from any expense of life in promoting his own aggrandizement, fell as a great example to the world under the stroke of an incensed and injured land, whose very skies seemed engaged to crush him.

On the 9th of May, 1812, Buonaparte left St. Cloud to take the command of an immense army, which had been gathered by treaty or compulsion, from most parts of Europe, in almost every quarter of which he was at this time feared ; the total amounted to at least four hundred thousand men. On the 6th of June he crossed the Vistula, on the 22d he formally declared war against Russia, and two days after, passing the Niemen, he entered the Russian territory.

The measures of defence adopted by the emperor Alexander were conceived with great prudence. Instead of opposing the French on the confines of his vast empire, he suffered them to advance, with the view of cutting off their resources, and at the same time not without hope of assistance for his country from its climate. Beloved by his subjects, he had nothing to fear on the score of their attachment, and the event proved that his confidence was not misplaced, for the Russians, princes and people, evinced the most heroic valour and devotedness throughout the whole of the tremendous conflict, and such as must procure for them the gratitude of Europe

throughout the long line of history, as having by their unprecedented sacrifices, given the first fatal blow to the power of an unprincipled oppressor.

As the invading army advanced, the peasantry forsook their little all, their native homes, and sheltering dwellings, to wander for the protection of their lives over unknown parts of their vast uncultivated country, where the probabilities of subsistence were small, because distress was general ; but they destroyed whatever might assist the enemy, and the immense daily demands of the invader's overwhelming army, were felt with inconvenience even before the climate had rendered them absolutely unanswerable.

Buonaparte advanced to Smolensko with little interruption, and there the first engagement took place ; after which the Russians continued retiring until they arrived at Borodino, a short distance from Moscow, where the Russian general, Kutusoff, had determined to make a stand. At six o'clock in the morning of the 7th of September, Buonaparte commenced the attack by attempting to carry the Russian line by main force. The contest was murderous, but the issue unfavourable to the French ; and while they were thus occupied, nearly thirty thousand cossacks cut their way into the centre of their camp, where they occasioned a strong sensation by the singularity and terror of their appearance, and mode of warfare. Buonaparte now ordered that an attack

should be made on the heights, and this, after a most sanguinary contest, was partly successful; but while these operations were going on in one part of the army, in another the Russians were the assailants, and drove back the French; thus the engagement continued with varying success and slaughter till night; and though the French were masters in one part of the field, the army had suffered so much in another, that Buonaparte deemed it prudent to draw off his forces.

The Russian general having thus succeeded in the great object of the campaign, which was to weaken Buonaparte as much as possible, and at the same time to draw him further into the country, resolved to abandon Moscow to its fate; and this he was the more disposed to do, as the French army after the battle had been reinforced by a corps under marshal Victor. Buonaparte now saw the capital of Russia within his reach, and though by the persevering refusal of the emperor Alexander to treat, he could hardly expect that the possession of it would bring him to terms, yet he looked forward to it as a place of refuge against the severity of the Russian winter, and as the probable depository of those articles of provision and refreshment which his army so much wanted. How great then was his mortification and disappointment, when just as he was entering Moscow, he beheld it in flames! the governor and inhabitants nobly sacrificing their

venerated city—their homes and property, rather than that the French should derive any advantage from them. This disappointment, with the utter want of supplies, the opposition he encountered at every step, and the approach of a Russian winter, at length bore down the obstinate spirit of Buonaparte, and he resolved to retreat; but even this could not be done without his accustomed deception. He represented it in his bulletins as only a lateral movement on Petersburg. This measure, however, was adopted too late: had he left Moscow as soon as his army had been refreshed, and prepared for a retreat before the approach of winter, he might have escaped the unparalleled disasters which befel him; but by delaying it till the middle of October, he rendered it impossible for him to proceed far, before the severity of a Russian winter would attack his troops, while he gave time for the enemy to complete their operations for harassing them. These preparations indeed were extensive. On every side the Russians were collected, and especially immense numbers of cossacks, who were calculated for this mode of warfare. Before Buonaparte could leave Moscow, it was necessary to drive back the grand Russian army, which occupied the Kalouga road, by which he meant to proceed; this Murat, who commanded the cavalry, attempted, but he was defeated with dreadful loss. In consequence of this defeat, Buonaparte was

compelled to abandon his intention of retreating by the route of Kalouga; but in order to deceive Kutusoff, he began his march in that direction, and afterwards turned off on the road to Smolensko. He himself marched with the van of his army, surrounded by the imperial guards; the viceroy of Italy brought up the rear.

As soon as Kutusoff was informed of the route which the French army had taken, he began his march in a parallel line, leaving it to the other divisions of the army, and especially the cossacks, to hang on the rear and the flanks of the enemy. No words can paint the misery and sufferings of the French during this retreat. "Scarcely," says one who was present, "had they, worn out by a day's march, along broken deep roads, during which they were constantly obliged to be either on the alert, or actually fighting, lain down on the wet and cold ground to obtain a little rest or sleep, when the cossacks rushed into their camps; and before the men could prepare themselves for resistance or defence, many were killed, all were thrown into confusion and dismay, and their artillery and stores were carried off." While they were thus exposed to the sudden and irregular attacks of the cossacks, Kutusoff seized every opportunity of bringing them to battle. On the 24th of October he attacked them vigorously; the French fought with desperation, but their strength was at length worn out, and they were compelled to

retreat with the loss of sixteen pieces of cannon. After this defeat, Buonaparte pushed forward before his army towards Smolensko, the imperial guard alone accompanying him in his disgraceful flight.

It is impossible to describe the losses and sufferings of the French till they arrived at this place. But about the beginning of November the Russian winter began with more than usual severity, and then their miseries became insupportable; on the first day of the frost nearly thirty thousand horses perished. All possibility of carrying forward their artillery was at an end; the spirits of the soldiers completely deserted them; they crawled on exposed to the most dreadful cold, exhausted with fatigue and hunger; emaciated and almost naked, they had no power to defend themselves against the cossacks, who constantly hovered round them; they had no inclination to do it; death to them would have been a blessing. At the sight of the cossacks, they hoped their miseries would soon be terminated; but their incensed enemies were not so merciful as to put them to death, piercing them with wounds. Stripping off the little covering they had, they left them in the snow, there bleeding and naked, to the rigours of a Russian winter. Whenever the French entered any village where there was the least chance of repose or food, they exerted their little remaining strength, and crawled on their

hands and feet to seek it. Frequently, just as they had stretched out their hands to seize a little food, or reached the threshold of a wretched hut, under which they looked for shelter from the weather, perhaps for a few minutes' sleep, the remnant of their strength failed them, and they expired." It may be well conceived how little able such an army was to resist the regular Russian troops, yet occasionally despair lent them strength, and they fought obstinately, though never successfully. In addition to their miseries, they lost all confidence in Buonaparte, and in fact, could no longer be said to compose an army. Ignorant of the roads, and afraid to meet with the cossacks, they wandered in all directions, or actually laid themselves down to die. Every day witnessed the diminution of their numbers, by defeat, or the effects of famine and the climate; but their most serious loss took place at Krasnoi, where Kutusoff completely routed them, the division of Davoust, nearly twenty-four thousand strong, being for the most part killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. A few days afterwards the division of Ney attacked the Russians; but they were repulsed, and being surrounded, twelve thousand laid down their arms. At the passage of the Berezina the slaughter was dreadful, for Buonaparte, after he had crossed it with part of his troops, perceiving that the Russians were close behind him, ordered the bridge to be set on



fire, and thus exposed his soldiers to the most dreadful destruction, both from the flames and the enemy.

After this the retreat to Wilna was not so disastrous, but before the wreck of his army had reached that place, Buonaparte forsook his troops in their misery* and escaped in disguise, having

* It would be impossible in this place to enter into the detail of those heavy and varied miseries which beset the invading host. The following letter, addressed by one of the brave Russians to his friend at St. Petersburg, will, however, afford an outline of the dreadful picture. "Though besieged with miseries and assailed with all the fury of our cannon and our bayonets, it is certain that nearly forty thousand of our merciless invaders escaped to the nearest bank of the Berezina: but there even in the moment in which they believed themselves safe, they met their destruction; they plunged in to gain the opposite shore, and many of them met the death from which they fled in the cold breast of the river in the direful flames which rolled along its surface.

They who escaped the flood and the conflagration were not more secure, for all nature seemed to fight against them. Heaven itself seemed to hurl its last bolt upon their sacrilegious heads, by increasing the cold to a degree that was almost intolerable to the best defended, but to those who had no covering it was suffering worse than the tortures of the rack. It was at this crisis, when nearly deprived of the power of moving, they abandoned their guns, baggage, and arms, and throwing themselves upon drifting snows, called on the blast to end their miseries. Then rising in frantic despair they ran howling amongst each other, exclaiming loudly against their betrayer, and demanding death at the hands of their

passed rapidly in a sledge over the frozen land which he had so madly attempted to violate.

equally distracted companions. Thousands of these poor wretches were nearly naked; few had either shoe, or boot, or pantaloons, to protect their freezing limbs; many had endeavoured to shield them from the severity of the weather by wrapping about them the raw hides they had stripped from their perished horses. Others covered their bodies with old matting, canvass, women's clothes, priests' vestments, or any thing that could assist their emaciated frames from the piercing wind, and a frost that seemed to cut into their souls. Happy was he who had been so lucky as to have purloined from the plundered countryman his winter sheep-skin, or saved a pelisse from the general pillage! Officers and men shared in the same want of covering; the wretched fragments which decency would still wrap around them were tattered into a hundred shreds, but from the inclemencies of the iron season there was no shelter; thousands became benumbed and stupified; many dropped in silence into the grasp of death; others moved on their gradually-freezing bodies, mourning their pangs and cursing the name of him and all his race who had brought them into such depths of unimaginable human suffering. Every corps and every rank of officers partook of the general distress. The guards, once the proud favourites of their proudest chief, were alike the sport of the angry elements, were alike exposed to nakedness and privations. Their gay caparisons were turned into loathsome rags, and a prey to every evil of squalid wretchedness, to hunger and to cold, they dropped down dead in heaps, groaning out the reproaches their tongues were too feeble to utter. Defence was now totally out of the question; flight, not escape, was their object, for

He arrived in Paris on the 18th of December, where he had the mortification to find that, not-

none possessed within himself sufficient strength to promise him an existence of many hours. It was not life they sought, but relief from the agonies of fear. An undefinable terror hung on the soul of the famished wretch who, stretched on the chilling snow, called fervently on death to release him from his misery. Even in this state let but the simple cry of "The Cossacks!" be sounded in his ear, and it would be sufficient to arouse him to temporary energy; a thousand would partake his dread, and suddenly spreading themselves in flight, they would every where darken the snow with their flying shadows, and fill the air with their despairing shrieks. In this state some thousands would be made prisoners to a band of perhaps no more than a hundred Cossacks. The road on which this ruined army moved was rough with their dead, who heaped on each other, shewed through the uneven surface of the snow their grisly and disfigured visages, their perishing and dismembered bodies, and all the horrid variety of death inflicted by want, and pain, and the sword. Every bivouac at the dawning of morning resembles rather the consequences of a sanguinary conflict than a night's rest. Cold and fatigue benumbed many in their last repose, but scarcely did the hand of death close their eyes before they became a spoil; nay, even while they yet breathed, their comrades would seize on their expiring bodies, and strip them of their ragged coverings to defend themselves. Vast are the circles of the perished they leave behind them in these dismal night-watches, and when they proceed in the morning, there is nothing before them but a similar fate. Desperate with cold, they set every house and barn on fire in their way, in order to alleviate with the heat the pangs which rack their

withstanding all his art, his popularity had suffered, and where it was soon clearly ascertained

joints. But the expedient is fraught with new sufferings; hundreds hasten to the blazing scene to enjoy a few moments' warmth, but not having strength to retire with sufficient speed from the influence of the flames when they become outrageous, they fall a prey to their fury, and the ruins of the burning houses are surrounded with the expiring remains of their helpless consumers. Many of those who escape immediate destruction from the fire, scarred by the flames, blackened in parts by the smoke, and as pale as the snow itself, range themselves like a host of ghastly spectres upon the lifeless bodies of their countrymen, and there remain in motionless apathy till the benumbing hand of death steals by degrees upon their vitals, and they fall amid the icy and scorched corpses of their comrades. Numbers having their feet frozen and half mortified, were reduced to a state of complete helplessness, and being left upon the road were forced to abandon themselves to the death they might otherwise have averted for yet some days; in those days now so cruelly cut off from their chance of prolonged existence some succour might yet arrive. The idea alone seemed to speak a hope of which they were irresistibly deprived, and their despair broke out into cries of the bitterest anguish; it was a lamentation of rifled existence that paralyzed the hearer, and made him behold the unfathomable depth of the perdition into which the falsehood of the French leader had plunged his too-confident followers. Multitudes of these desolate fugitives lost their speech; others were seized with phrensy, and many were so maddened by the extremes of pain and hunger, that they tore the dead bodies of their comrades into pieces, and feasted upon their remains. But I

that the immense loss which he had sustained by this ambitious enterprise amounted to at least three hundred thousand men, together with the whole *materiel* of so vast an army.

Notwithstanding, however, these unprecedented disasters, the more important one of having lost the best French soldiers, and the blow which had been given to his military reputation, Buonaparte, guided by that sort of blind infatuation which is often seen to take possession of the guilty, as the precursor of approaching punishment, determined to prosecute the war still further; and a *senatus consultum* (11th of January, 1813), having placed at his disposal three hundred and fifty thousand more human lives, he again exerted every effort for the support of his sinking character. But the event soon proved these efforts to be unavailing. His campaign in Russia had shewn those who groaned under his oppression, that he was not as he had proudly boasted, in his troops *invincible*; and their conduct soon proved, that they only waited an opportunity for throwing off the French yoke.

The remains of the army still continued their retreat, followed by the Russians, who after some

will not attempt a further enumeration of the varieties of human miseries I have seen; only those who have witnessed such extremes of distress can form any idea of the horrors I have left yet untold, of the hideous spectacles exhibited between the Berezina and the Niemen, and whose parallel for miseries is not to be found in the annals of the world."

preliminary arrangements, occupied Berlin, by which the king of Prussia was enabled to desert the cause of Buonaparte with safety. On the 2d of April the Russians and Prussians once more fought in company against the French, in the vicinity of Luneburg, where they gained a victory. Although the power of Buonaparte had received a mortal wound, he repaired to his new army on the 5th of April; but it was to witness little beside disaster. At Lutzen and at Bautzen his army had much hard fighting; but the strength of the allies increased, and their cause gained ground. The crown prince of Sweden, and the emperor of Austria, joined the coalition; and at Leipsic, on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, of October, a tremendous battle was fought, which proved dreadfully ruinous to the French, who lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, forty thousand men, and sixty-five pieces of artillery. After the battle of Leipsic, in which the Saxons also joined the allies, Buonaparte retreated with a needful rapidity, the allies entering the city in two hours after his leaving it. His head-quarters on the 31st of October were fixed at Frankfort, on the 2d of November he reached Mentz, and soon after he proceeded to Paris.

On the 14th of November, he replied to the address of the senate, acknowledging in some sort his reverses; but appealing to the French nation for support under them, two decrees were in con-

sequence passed, one levying additional taxes, and the other a new conscription of three hundred thousand men. The natural effect of his present situation now began to appear; and the liberation of one country after another from his oppressive yoke, followed with joyful rapidity. A revolution broke out in Holland, which, being assisted by the English, terminated in the deliverance of that country from the power of France. Hapover was entered, and liberated by the crown prince of Sweden. Bremen and Embden were recovered. The viceroy of Italy, unable to cope with the Austrians, abandoned Trieste and the Dalmatian coast; and Dresden and Stettin, with their numerous garrisons, surrendered to the combined forces.

The allied sovereigns now established their head-quarters at Frankfort, from whence they issued a declaration on the 1st of December, stating in substance, that they made war against that insatiable ambition which had burst forth from France on the surrounding nations, and which had been carried by Buonaparte to the most destructive extent; that they wished to see France great and independent, but that they also claimed independence for other and their own nations—principles which accorded with former declarations*. The last twenty years had witnessed unparalleled calamities heaped on Europe.

* See Manifesto, &c. p. 4.

They trusted they had it now in their power to put an end to these calamities, and they were resolved to do so. Immediately after this the allies crossed the Rhine, and the scourge of war by which the French had destroyed the fair hopes of so many countries, was now by a just retribution brought upon their own. The invading army met with little or no opposition on the French frontier; and by the middle of January, 1814, a part of it occupied Langres, an ancient and considerable town, one hundred miles within it.

On the 25th, Buonaparte, having appointed his consort regent, quitted Paris, and once more took the command of his army. Attempting to stem the torrent which had gathered against him, he sustained several very severe engagements; and although he called in vain upon the people to rise *en masse*, and defend their country, it seemed probable he might even now, by treaty, have retained his remaining power; but his negotiations with the allies at Chatillon, were as faithless and fluctuating as they had ever been, and the overwhelming advance of the invading army was therefore deemed necessary.

After some severe fighting, in which the Prussian general, Blucher, displayed his accustomed bravery, Buonaparte, on the 23d of March, threw himself into the rear of the allies, as it appears, with the hope of creating alarm for their communication with Germany, and resources; but instead of contending the point, they immediately

resolved on the bold project of marching directly to Paris. Buonaparte now hastened towards the capital ; but here his hopes were completely frustrated, the allies having attacked and carried the heights at Belleville and Montmartre, and being with magnanimous forbearance anxious to save the city from bloodshed, entered Paris by capitulation on the 31st of March.

In the south, the brilliant career of Wellington had almost at the same moment singularly attained its consummation, (that part of France which, during the worst periods of the revolution, suffered most on account of its attachment to the royal family). Having furnished the most unequivocal proofs of high military talent, throughout the long and eventful struggle, he now entered Bourdeaux, the first city which ventured to declare for the king, as a welcome deliverer. His last battle was fought with Soult, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, on the 8th of April, whom he defeated, entering the city victoriously.

Having lost its capital, France might now be regarded as a conquered country ; the succeeding events followed almost as a mere matter of course. Buonaparte gave forth a formal renunciation of his ill-gotten and misused power—a provisional government was formed in Paris—a new constitution framed ; and Louis XVIII., as the restorer of peace, so long lost to his exhausted and deluded country, was invited to the throne.

At that moment, his majesty, who was residing in England, was too infirm in health to allow of the journey. But his brother personated him during the short interim; and on the 3d of May, 1814, he made his solemn entry into Paris, having been absent nearly twenty-three years. When he came to the palace of his fathers, a vast crowd, collected in the garden, appeared, by their lively acclamations, to solicit the presence of his majesty. The king presented himself in compliance with the wishes of his people. The duchess d'Angoulême was at his right hand, and the duke de Berri at his left. Shortly afterwards the daughter of Louis XVI. made way for Monsieur. The king instantly embraced his brother, and the acclamations were redoubled. The enthusiasm was at its height, when the king, raising his arms towards the crowd, seemed to say, "You are my children—I speak to you from my heart—I embrace you thus." The people understood him, and immediately cried out, "Long live the king!" "Long live our father*!"

* His present majesty Louis the XVIIIth. (Louis Stanislaus Xavier) is the younger brother of the much-injured Louis XVI., whose sufferings have been so affectingly described by his faithful attendants*, and was born at Versailles, on the 17th November, 1755, his father having never reached the throne from his death taking place before that of

* Vide Clery's Narrative of Occurrences at the Temple, &c., Authentic Memoirs, p. 148.

On the 30th of May, a definitive treaty with the several powers of Europe, restored peace to

Louis XV. In his early life he was distinguished by the title of the Count de Provence, but on his brother's accession by that of Monsieur. Before the revolution he concerned himself but little with public affairs, the study of literature and philosophy occupying all his leisure; but at that period he stood forward as the friend of the people, as well as of the king, under the conviction that their rights must stand or fall together. When his persecuted brother attempted to quit Paris for Montmedi, he also left it, and succeeding in escaping, joined his only remaining brother the Count d'Artois, now Monsieur, on the frontiers, where he employed every possible effort on behalf of the king and his unhappy country, and was for many years exposed to the most distressing vicissitudes. On the death of the much-injured child, his nephew, Louis XVII.*, he succeeded to the throne by the title of Louis the XVIIIth., and immediately issued an expostulatory manifesto addressed to the French nation (*vide* page 201), promising pardon to all who should submit to his authority.

Having been compelled to remove repeatedly from his residences by the advance of the republicans, he at length took up his abode at Warsaw, at which place in 1804, proposals were made to him by Buonaparte for renouncing the throne in his favour, which were of course indignantly rejected. It is asserted (*vide* Revolutionary Plutarch, v. 3.) that a plot was also laid there for destroying him by poison, of which the murderer of the duke D'Enghien seems to have been thought very capable.

When the oppressive power of Buonaparte began to in-

* *Vide Authentic Memoirs, p. 340.*

France and to the world. The limits of the French territory, which had only been extended for the most ruinous purposes, were by this treaty withdrawn within the proper boundaries; and it was agreed, that they should for the future be regarded as at the commencement of the revolution. To the fallen adventurer, Buonaparte, was awarded the sovereignty of the island of Elba, with an annual stipend, and a rent-charge of two million five hundred thousand francs to his family; an indemnification was also afforded for the past conduct of his adherents, and other political criminals, the destruction of his power producing an immeasurable sensation of joy through all classes and countries.

timidate most of the European states, the king quitted the continent for the only secure place of refuge—England—where he continued to reside until by one united effort of an injured and wearied world that usurped power was demolished which had been so long employed for purposes of destruction, leaving open by consequence the throne to its successive possessor.

Whilst sustaining the title of Monsieur his majesty was married to a daughter of the king of Sardinia, which estimable lady he lost during his residence in England, without issue.

ADDENDA.

Measures adopted on the Restoration.—Plans of Buonaparte.—He quits Elba, and returns to Paris.—Indignation of the allied Powers.—Preparations for a second Invasion of the French Territory.—Battle of Waterloo.—Return of the King.—Flight of Buonaparte.—He resigns himself to the English, and is conveyed to St. Helena.

ONE of the king's first objects on his return to the throne, was to repress, by gentle and conciliatory means, that adventurous spirit which had grown up from the revolution; and which, fostered by the unnatural gains of conquest and of plunder, had led so large a part of the population into the military life by preference. It was impossible not to foresee that this rational and necessary measure must have its peculiar difficulties. The arrangements respecting the basis of his government were adjusted with comparative ease, for the king had no object beyond the public good, and the peaceable part of the public soon felt themselves satisfied in the security of their rights; but when the military looked towards

him, many of whom had been long employed in hunting down their species, without either principle in themselves or leaders, to mitigate the rigours of violence, they found in the king's views no answering aspect. The policy of the French rulers during the rebellion had been systematically aggressive; it was now to become just; rapine and plunder had not only been sanctioned, but sought for; restitution wherever it were possible was now to be made; war and extension of territory had hitherto been the principal object within this infatuated country, but now peace and its ancient limits were to become its rule. Such a change as this, required in the sovereign integrity and judgment, and he possessed them; but it also required energy and promptitude, and he had lived far beyond that age to which they are allotted. With a generous disregard of private feelings, and painful recollections, he desired to forget *all* the past, and occupy himself only with the future; but experience soon shewed the danger of so unlimited an expedient—he trusted in his army, and it deceived him.

It had been generally supposed, that the miseries which the French troops had endured in aiming to accomplish the mad views of Buonaparte, must have induced them to rejoice in his overthrow; but the conclusion was speedily disproved, and it was soon but too clearly ascertained, that the government of Buonaparte, as a

military despotism, necessarily cherishing military habits, and dispensing honours, had attached, in a remarkable degree, the army to its chief, and that they were even now, in spite of their solemn engagements to the king, ready again to follow his biddings.

Whilst, therefore, the king was occupied in attempting to heal his country's wounds, and in promoting those just sources of national prosperity, industry, and commerce; the partisans of Buonaparte were carrying on in secret their mad schemes for bringing up once more on the exhausted world his desolating domination, and so effectually were their measures concerted, that notwithstanding all its improbabilities, this astonishing occurrence was at length really brought to pass.

After having resided on the island of Elba a few months, it appeared to have been arranged that Buonaparte should watch his opportunity for quitting it, and for landing again in France; where the military were to be looking for him at different posts, and would every where support him. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, 1815, he once more gained the French shore, and landed at Cannes, with some of his adherents. In this distressing juncture, the king was made the object of the grossest perfidy, his orders and proclamations were frustrated even by the very persons whom duty bound to their fulfilment. Buona-

parte crossed the country rapidly, and without difficulty, issuing addresses in his accustomed style of vaunt and promise ; and on his approach to the capital, finding that the army had to a great extent deserted him, and that he was without succour, the king withdrew from his palace, and retired to the Netherlands.

On the 20th of March, Buonaparte reached Paris, and strangely assisted by attachment and by fear, without the least resistance seized the reins of the government, which he had so formally renounced ; and which he immediately employed himself in devising the most likely methods of retaining.

It was natural that the exhibition of a treachery, thus daring, should be felt every where—gloom pervaded all. The indignation of Europe was aroused, and though Buonaparte resorted to every art, in order to convince his former enemies that he would henceforth cultivate peace only, it was scarcely possible that he could expect to be believed, or to avert the blow which was to crush him.

The allies made immediate arrangements for again invading France ; and Buonaparte, thus compelled, collected the army, which was every where favourable to him. Issuing popular decrees, and framing a new constitution, he attempted to gain over the people ; whilst he celebrated the Champ de Mai with the military, who swore to die defending him.

The preparations on this occasion were of the most gigantic kind on both sides, and the neighbourhood of Brussels witnessed the dreadful conflict. Early in June both armies were assembled. The duke of Wellington had command of the allied army, and was thus for the first time opposed in person to Buonaparte; who, quitting Paris on the 12th, on the 14th arrived at Avesnes, where he issued an order of the day, reminding his troops that it was the anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland, and that to every Frenchman who had a heart, the moment was arrived to conquer or perish. On the 15th, he attacked the Prussian posts on the Sambre, and drove them in, at which the allies were somewhat surprised; they, however, immediately made their own arrangements, and some partial engagements occurred on the two following days, in which the French were in some degree successful; but on the 18th, the battle commenced which was to destroy all the boasted hopes of the usurper, with the lives of a great proportion of his partisans.

At half past ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 18th, Buonaparte began to put his troops in motion, and about an hour afterwards, one of his corps attacked a country-house on the right of the British, where the Nassau troops were posted; these were obliged to give way, but the house itself was so well defended, that the French could not gain possession of it. The

attack on the right of the British centre, Buonaparte accompanied with a dreadful fire of artillery, under cover of which he made repeated attacks of infantry and cavalry, sometimes mixed, and sometimes separate, from the centre to the right ; but the skill of the duke of Wellington, and the admirable moral courage and physical strength of his troops were unconquerable. Against one of these attacks of the French cavalry, general Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet. The French, struck with astonishment at the circumstance of infantry advancing to the charge of cavalry, fired, and then fled. At this moment the brave general Picton was killed. The *English life-guards* next advanced against the 49th and 105th regiments of French infantry ; to their support the cuirassiers came up. The most sanguinary cavalry fight, perhaps, ever witnessed, was the consequence ; but the British were victorious, and the cuirassiers were annihilated. The battle had now lasted upwards of five hours, during which, Buonaparte had lost an immense number of men by his desperate charges, without being able to make any decisive impression. The duke of Wellington, with the skill of a consummate general, kept his troops entirely on the defensive ; but though he thus had saved their strength as much as possible, yet they were beginning to be exhausted, and their brave com-

mander frequently turned his anxious and vigilant eye to that quarter where he expected the Prussians to arrive.

At break of day the Prussians had begun to move; the second and fourth corps marched to take up a position, whence they might attack the French on the rear, if circumstances proved favourable. The first corps was to operate on the right flank of the French, and the third corps was to follow slowly in order. About five o'clock, Buonaparte perceived the advance of part of the Prussian army, which at first he supposed to have been the division of his own army under marshal Grouchy, who had been posted on the rear of the allies, to take advantage of their anticipated defeat. As soon, however, as he ascertained it was the Prussians, he repeated his attacks with cavalry and infantry, supported by artillery, in a more desperate and murderous manner than ever, but the British were immovable. At last, about seven in the evening, he made a final effort. By the enthusiasm of his guards, he succeeded for a moment in driving back the Brunswickers; but the duke of Wellington putting himself at their head, and animating them by a short speech, restored the combat. At this critical moment the Prussians came up. General Bulow advanced rapidly on the rear of the right wing of the French, and marshal Blücher had joined in person with a corps of his

army to the left of the British army, by Ohain. The duke of Wellington headed the foot-guards, spoke a few words to them, which were replied to by a general hurrah, and his grace guiding them with his hat, they marched at the point of the bayonet to close action. Buonaparte's best troops were now unable to withstand the unexpected energy of these wearied, but brave men; and they therefore began a retreat, in which they were imitated by the whole of the French army. In the defeat and slaughter of his guards, the flower of the French army, Buonaparte saw his last hope destroyed; and with a fondness for life, which does not often distinguish the hero of daring adventures, once more saved himself by flight. The British, completely exhausted, left the pursuit to the Prussians, who were coming fresh to battle.

The courage displayed in this dreadful day, was of the most astonishing kind. The British and their allies performed prodigies of valour. Having to sustain the heat of the action through the whole of the day, until the arrival of the Prussians, there was no resort for them but in *personal* courage, and every man appeared to feel his honour as an individual at stake on the event; they were hewn down, but could not be induced to give way; like their valiant commander, Wellington, they seemed to say—we cannot move, here we must die or conquer.

The consequences of this battle were of course decisive. Buonaparte fled to Paris, again renounced the government. The allies advanced, though not without some farther attempts at defence on the part of the rebel army; and on the 8th of July, 1815, the king again entered his capital, to the joy of his peaceable subjects, and to the confusion of the traitors, some of whom met with well deserved disgrace and punishment.

Previously to the king's arrival, Buonaparte quitted Paris and repaired to Rochefort, where, after having in vain endeavoured to escape, he resigned himself, unconditionally, to a British commander, captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, who conveyed him to England. As it was now clear that no moral engagement entered into by Buonaparte could be at all depended on as the pledge of his conduct, his personal custody alone could prove a secure guarantee; and the island of St. Helena was therefore chosen as an asylum to this end. He was transferred with some of his most particular adherents to the *Northumberland*, which left England for St. Helena on the 11th of August, 1815.

FINIS.

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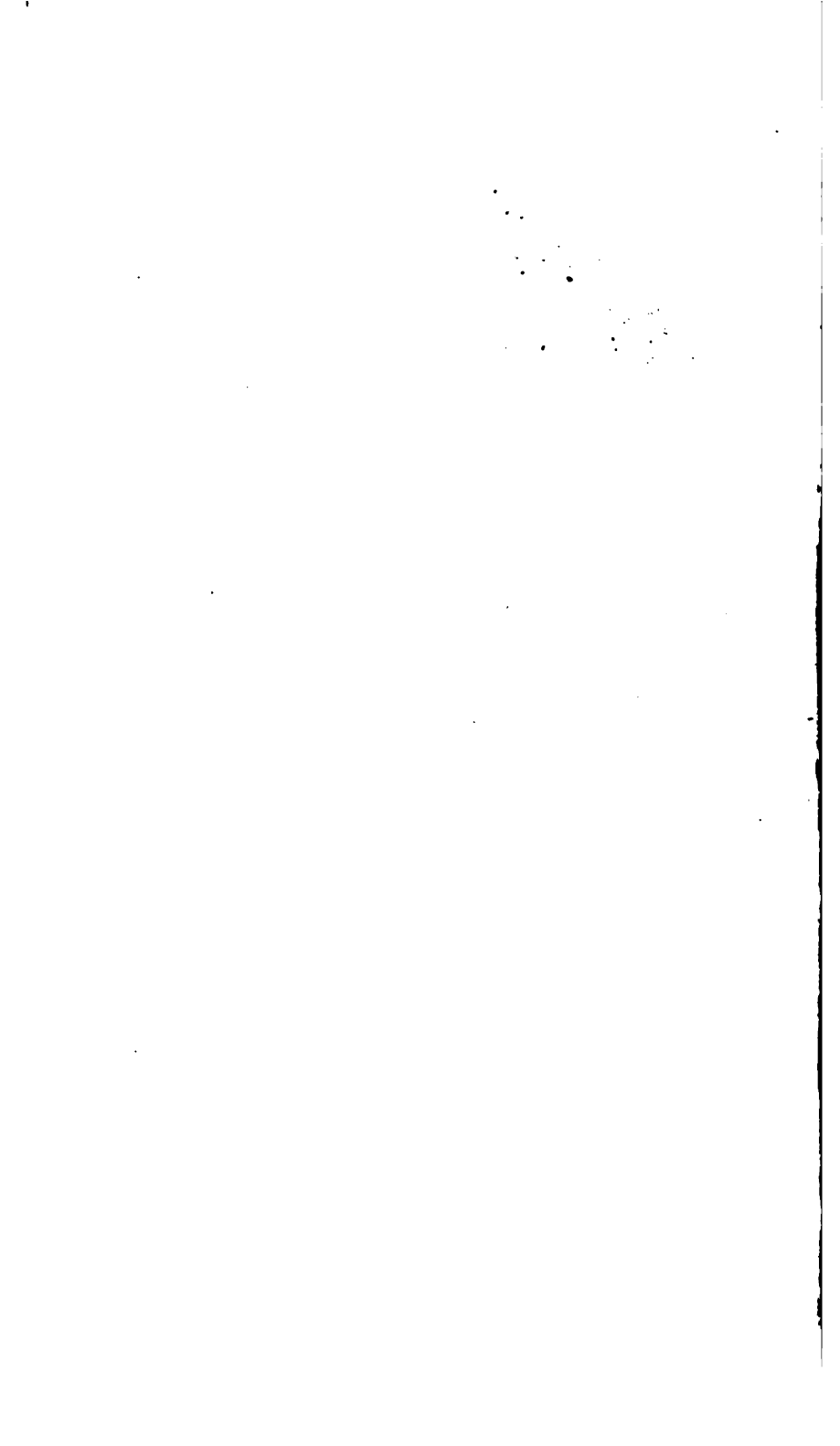
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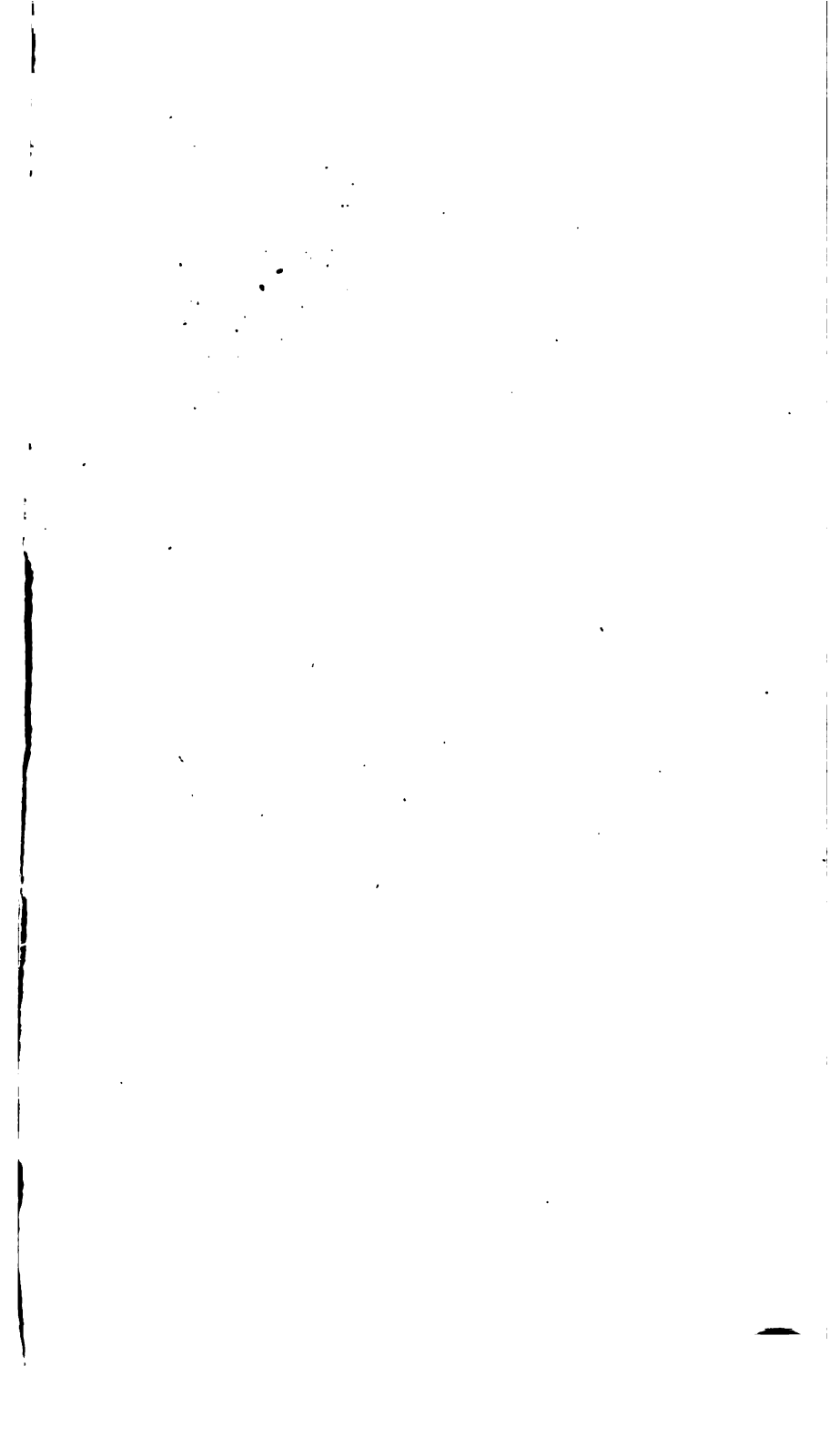
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